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A
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE FIRST

INVASION BY THE ROMANS

TO THE

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY,
IN 1688.

BY JOHN LINGARD, D. D.

A NEW EDITION,

AS ENLARGED BY DR. LINGARD SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.

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OF

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LINGARD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

EDWARD VI.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Emperor.</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i>	<i>King of Spain.</i>	<i>Queen of Scot.</i>
Charles V.	Francis . . . 1547 Henry II.	Charles V.	Mary.

Popes :

Paul III. . . 1549. Julius III.

Hertford is made Protector and Duke of Somerset—War with Scotland—Battle of Pinkenleugh—Progress of the Reformation—Book of Common Prayer—Lord Admiral arrested and beheaded—Discontent and Insurrections—France declares War—Protector is sent to the Tower and discharged—Peace—Deprivation of bishops—Troubles of the Lady Mary—Foreign Preachers—Somerset arrested and executed—New Parliament—Warwick's ambition—Death of the King.

THE reader is already acquainted with the ingenious device by which, at the same time that the radical
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defect in the will of the late sovereign was concealed, the more important of its provisions were made public. The sixteen executors to whom Henry had confided the government of the king and kingdom, during the minority of his son Edward,—he was only nine years old,—were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; the lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor; the lord St. John, great master; the earl of Hertford, great chamberlain, and uncle to the young king; the lord Russell, privy seal; the viscount Lisle, high admiral; Tunstall, bishop of Durham; sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse; sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; Mr. justice Bromley; sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; sir William Paget, chief secretary; sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

The publication of these names provoked the censure of many, the surprise of all. It was remarked that they were not only new men, raised to honours and office by the judgment or partiality of the late king, but for the most part the very individuals who had constantly attended him during his sickness, and had possessed exclusively the benefit of access to his person. To aid them in cases of difficulty, the will had appointed a second council, consisting of twelve persons, the earls of Arundel and Essex, sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer, and sir John Gage, comptroller of the household; sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; sir William Petre, chief secretary; sir Richard Rich, sir John Baker, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Seymour, another uncle of the young king, sir Richard Southwell, and sir Edmund Peckham. But these were not invested with any real authority. They could only tender their advice on occasions when it might be required*.

* Rym. xv. 114. 116.

The new king was proclaimed immediately after the publication of the will by the chancellor—on the Monday. On the same day the executors, being assembled in the Tower, “resolved not only to stand to, and maintain, the last will and testament of their master the late king, and every part and article of the same, to the uttermost of their power, wits, and cunning, but also that every one of them present should take a corporal oath upon a book, for the more assured and effectual accomplishment of the same*.” Scarcely, however, had they taken this oath, when they were called upon to break it by the ambition of the earl of Hertford; whose partisans pretended, that for convenience and despatch it would be necessary to appoint one of the council, to transact business with the foreign envoys, and to represent on other occasions the person of the young sovereign. By Wriothesley the project was opposed with boldness and warmth. He appealed to the words and the spirit of the will, by which all the executors were invested with equal powers; and he contended that, by giving themselves a superior, they would invalidate that which was the only foundation of their present authority. But to argue was fruitless. A majority had been previously secured: the chancellor withdrew his opposition, on an understanding that the new officer should not presume to act without the assent of the majority of the council; and the earl of Hertford was immediately appointed protector of the realm, and guardian of the king’s person. His talents were perhaps unequal to the situation: but two circumstances pleaded in his favour. He was uncle to the king: and he could not boast of royal blood in his veins. The first naturally interested him in the welfare of his nephew; the second forbade him to aspire to the throne.

In the afternoon the executors conducted the young

* Council-book, Harl. MS. 352. Bromley and the two Wottons were absent.

Edward into the chamber of presence; where all the lords temporal and spiritual waited to receive him. Each in succession approached the king, kissed his hand kneeling, and said, "God save your grace." The chancellor then explained to them the dispositions in the will of their late sovereign, and the resolution of his executors to place the earl of Hertford at their head. They unanimously signified their assent; the new protector expressed his gratitude; and Edward, pulling off his cap, said: "We heartily thank you, my lords all; and, hereafter, in all that ye shall have to do with us for any suit or causes, ye shall be heartily welcome." The appointment of Hertford was announced by proclamation, and was received with transports of joy by all who were attached to the new doctrines, or who sought to improve their fortunes at the expense of the church*.

In this instance the members of the council had been driven by the ambition of Hertford to violate the known will of their late sovereign: in another and more doubtful matter they were induced by views of personal interest to execute with scrupulous exactitude certain designs, which he was said to have formed. By a clause in the body of the will, Henry had charged them with the obligation of ratifying every gift, of performing every promise, which he should have made before his death. What these gifts and promises might be, must, it was presumed, be known to Paget, Herbert, and Denny, who had stood high in the confidence, and had been constantly in the chamber, of the dying monarch. These gentlemen were therefore interrogated before their colleagues; and from their depositions it was inferred, that the king had intended to give a dukedom to Hertford,

* Burnet, ii. 4. Stowe, 593. Strype, 14. That the office of protector was the object of Hertford's ambition, and that he had previously intrigued to obtain it, is evident from a letter written to him afterwards by Paget. "Remember what you promised me in the gallery at Westminster, before the breath was out of the body of the king that dead is; remember what you promised me immediately after, devising with me about the place which you now occupy." July 7, 1549. Apud Strype, ii. Rec. p. 109.

to create the earl of Essex, his queen's brother, a marquess, to raise the viscount Lisle and lord Wriothesley to the higher rank of earls, and to confer the title of baron on sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Rich, sir John St. Leger, sir William Willoughby, sir Edward Sheffield, and sir Christopher Danby; and that, to enable the new peers to support their respective titles, he had destined for Hertford an estate in land of 800*l.* per annum, with a yearly pension of 300*l.* from the first bishopric which should become vacant, and the incomes of a treasurership, a deanery, and six prebends in different cathedrals; for each of the others a proportionate increase of yearly income; and for the three deponents, Paget, Herbert, and Denny, 400 pounds, 400 marks, and 200 pounds*. Two out of the number, St. Leger and Danby, had sufficient virtue to refuse the money and the honours which were allotted to them: Hertford was created duke of Somerset, Essex marquess of Northampton, Lisle earl of Warwick, Wriothesley earl of Southampton, and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, barons of the same names; and to all these, with the exception of the two last, and to Cranmer, Paget, Herbert, and Denny, and more than thirty other persons, were assigned in different proportions manors and lordships out of the lands which had belonged to the dissolved monasteries, or still belonged to the existing bishoprics†. But sir Thomas Seymour was not satisfied: as uncle of the king he aspired to office no less than rank; and to appease his discontent the new earl of Warwick resigned in his favour the patent of high admiral, and was indemnified with that of great chamberlain, which Somerset

* Burnet, *ex lib.* Conc. ii. 7. It is observable that the deponents say: "the king, being on his death-bed put in mind of what he had promised, ordered it to be put in his will, that his executors should perform every thing that should appear to have been promised by him." Ibid. Such a clause, indeed, appears in the body of the will. But how could it be there, if Henry ordered it to be inserted, only when he was on his death-bed, that is, about the 28th of January? The will purports to have been executed four weeks before, on the 30th of December.

† See the names in Strype, ii. 78.

had exchanged for the dignities of lord high treasurer and earl marshal, forfeited by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk*. These proceedings did not pass without severe animadversion. Why, it was asked, were not the executors content with the authority which they derived from the will of their late master? Why did they reward themselves beforehand, instead of waiting till their young sovereign should be of age, when he might recompense their services according to their respective merits?

The interment of Henry was performed in the usual style of royal magnificence†; but at the coronation of his son, men observed with surprise several departures from ancient precedent. That the delicate health of the young king might not suffer from fatigue, the accustomed ceremony was considerably abridged; and, under pretence of respect for the laws and constitution of the realm an important alteration was introduced into that part of the form, which had been devised by our Saxon ancestors, to put the new sovereign in mind that he held his crown by the free choice of the nation. Hitherto it had been the custom for the archbishop, first to receive the king's oath, and then, having explained the obligations of that oath, to ask the people if they were willing to accept him on those terms, and obey him as their liege lord. Now the order was inverted; and not only did the address to the people precede the oath of the king, but in that very ad-

* Rym. xv. 124. 127. 130. Stowe, 593.

† The body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, which was hung with black cloth. Eighty large wax tapers were kept constantly burning: twelve lords mourners sat around, within a rail; and every day masses and a dirge were performed. At the commencement of the service, Norroy, king at arms, called aloud: "Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince, our late sovereign lord, Henry VIII." On the 14th of February, the body was removed to Sion house, on the 15th to Windsor, and the next day was interred in the midst of the choir, near to the body of Jane Seymour. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, preached the sermon and read the funeral service. When he cast the mould into the grave, saying, *pulvis pulveri, cinis cineri*, the lord great master, the lord chamberlain, the treasurer, comptroller, and gentlemen ushers, broke their staves into three parts over their heads, and threw the fragments upon the coffin. The psalm, "De profundis," was then said: and Garter, king at arms, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham, immediately proclaimed the style of the new sovereign. See Sandford, 492. Strype, ii. Rec. 3—17. Hayward, 275.

dress they were reminded that he held his crown by descent, and that it was their duty to submit to his rule. "Sirs," said the metropolitan, "I here present king Edward, rightful and "undoubted inheritor, by the laws of God and man, to the "royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration, inunction, and coronation, is appointed by all "the nobles and peers of the land to be this day. Will ye "serve at this time, and give your good wills and assents to "the same consecration, inunction, and coronation, as by "your duty of allegiance ye be bound to do?" When the acclamations of the spectators had subsided, the young Edward was led to the altar, where he took the oath,—not that of former times, but one made for the present occasion, by which he bound himself,—“ 1. To the people of England, to keep “the laws and liberties of the realm ; 2. To the church and “the people to keep peace and concord ; 3. To do in all his “judgments equal justice ; 4. To make no laws but to the “honour of God and the good of the commonwealth, and by “the consent of the people, as had been accustomed.” He was next anointed after the ancient form ; the protector and the archbishop placed on his head successively three crowns, emblematic of the three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland ; and the lords and prelates first did homage two by two, and then in a body promised fealty on their knees*. Instead of a sermon, Cranmer pronounced a short address to the new sovereign, telling him that the promises which he had just made could not affect his right to sway the sceptre of his dominions. That right he, like his predecessors, had derived from God : whence it followed, that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any other bishop, could impose conditions on him at his coronation, nor pretend to deprive him of his crown on the plea that he had broken his coronation oath. Yet these solemn rites served to admonish him of his duties, which were, “as God’s vicegerent and Christ’s vicar, “to see that God be worshipped, and idolatry be destroyed ; “that the tyranny of the bishop of Rome be banished, and

* Compare the ancient form in Rymer, vii. 158, with this in Burnet, ii. Records, 93, and Strype’s Cranmer, 142. No notice was taken of the form of oath devised by Henry VIII. to be used “at every coronation,” by which the king bound himself to keep only such rights of the church and such customs of the realm as were “not prejudicial to his jurisdiction and imperial “duty.” See it in Ellis, vol. i. title page.

“images be removed ; to reward virtue, and revenge vice ;
 “to justify the innocent, and relieve the poor ; to repress violence, and execute justice. Let him do this, and he
 “would become a second Josias, whose fame would remain to the end of days.” The ceremony was concluded with a solemn high mass, sung by the archbishop*.

As soon as Henry VI. had been crowned at the age of eight years, his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, was compelled to resign the office of protector, and to content himself with the title of prime counsellor†. But this precedent did not accord with the ambitious views of Somerset, who instead of descending from the height to which he had risen, aspired to render himself entirely independent of his colleagues. In the attempt he could rely on the cordial support of Cranmer, and of the partisans of the reformation : but he anticipated a formidable opposition from the legal knowledge and undaunted mind of the chancellor, the new earl of Southampton. The conduct of that nobleman during the last reign was an earnest of his resistance to any measure which might tend to additional innovations in religion ; and his influence had been proved on a recent occasion, when, to the mortification of Somerset, he had reduced the office of protector to a mere title without actual authority. But the imprudence of Southampton furnished his enemies with weapons against himself. Unable to attend at the same time the daily deliberations of the council, and his duties in the chancery, he had, without consulting his colleagues, put the great seal to
 18. a commission, empowering in the king's name four masters to hear all manner of causes in his absence, and giving to their decrees the same force as if they had been pronounced by the chancellor himself, provided that before enrolment they were ratified with his signature. A petition against this arrangement was presented by several lawyers at the secret suggestion of the protector ; by the council it was referred to the judges ; and the judges twice returned the same answer, that the

* Strype's Cranmer, 144.

† Rot. Parl. iv. 337.

chancellor, by affixing the great seal without sufficient warrant to the commission, had been guilty of an offence against the king, which at common law was punishable with the loss of office, and fine and imprisonment at the royal pleasure. In his own defence Southampton argued, that the commission was legal, and that he had been competent to issue it without requesting the assent of his colleagues; that, even admitting it to be illegal, they could only revoke it, to which he had no objection; that he held his office by patent from the late king, and that they, as executors, were not authorized by the will to deprive him of it. Finding, however, that it was in vain to contend against the majority, he made his submission, and was suffered to retire to his residence at Ely house. The same evening he resigned the seal, which was given to the lord St. John, and received an order to remain a prisoner in his own house, and to wait the decision of the council respecting the amount of his fine*. What precedent the chancellor might have for his conduct is uncertain. The commission, which he had issued without warrant, seems unjustifiable: but his deprivation for a mere error in judgment was censured as harsh and tyrannical.

The next measure adopted by Somerset disclosed the real cause of Southampton's disgrace. Though the duke possessed the title of protector, he had been compelled to accept it on the condition that he should never act without the assent of the majority of the council: now he procured letters patent under the great seal, conferring on himself alone the whole authority of the crown. This extraordinary instrument confirmed his former appointment, and ratified all his acts under it; it swept away the two separate councils appointed by the will; confounded the executors and their advisers under the common name of counsellors to the king; and authorized the protector to swell their number to an

* Burnet, ii. 15. Records, 96.

unlimited extent by the addition of such persons as he might think proper, and to select from the whole body a few individuals, who should form the privy council. It did not, however, bind him to follow their advice. He was still empowered to act independently, and in every case to decide according to his own judgment, till the king should have completed his eighteenth year*. Two months had not yet elapsed since the death of Henry; and, in that short space, the whole frame of government settled by his will had been dissolved, and the authority with which he had invested his executors had been suppressed, by the very men to whom he had given his confidence, and who had solemnly sworn to fulfil his intentions. It was asked on what principle of law or reason the present revolution had been effected. If the will possessed any force, the executors could not transfer to one person all those powers which it had confided to the joint wisdom of sixteen; if it did not, then they were unauthorized individuals, and incompetent to remodel the government of the realm.

- It was observed, that the intelligence of the death of Henry had made a deep impression on the mind of the king of France. That monarch entertained a notion that the duration of their lives was limited to the same year; and sought in vain to divert his melancholy by change of residence and the pleasures of the chase. At the same time he appeared to feel an affection for the son of his former friend: a proposal was made and accepted to renew the alliance between the crowns; and messengers had already been appointed to receive the oaths of the two monarchs, when Francis expired at Rambouillet, about two months after the death of his English brother†. His son and successor Henry II. pursued a very different policy, under the guidance of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine. He felt

* Burnet, ii. 15. Records 98. It was signed by Somerset himself, Craumer, St. John, Russell, Northampton, Brown, and Paget, executors and by Cheyney, one of their advisers.

† *Ann.* xv. 139—142. 149.

a deep interest in the fortunes of the infant queen of Scotland; and, when the treaty was offered to him for signature, refused to shackle himself with engagements, which might prevent him from espousing her cause. Still appearances of amity were preserved. As Francis had ordered a solemn service to be performed for Henry in the cathedral of Paris, so, to return the compliment, Cranmer was employed to sing a mass of requiem for **June** Francis in the church of St. Paul*. But the sequel **19.** showed that the jealousy of the French cabinet was not without foundation. The protector was at the very time busily employed in levying troops at home; his secret agents hired bands of discharged veterans in Germany, Italy, and Spain; and an active correspondence was kept up between the council and the murderers of cardinal Beaton in Scotland. But, to introduce these new allies to the notice of the reader, it will be necessary to revert to the year 1544.

It was in that year that Henry, foiled by the cardinal in his attempt to obtain the custody of the young queen, despatched the earl of Hertford to invade Scotland at the head of a powerful army†. He had repeatedly signified a wish to his Scottish adherents to have Beaton seized, and sent a prisoner to England: and now a person named Wishart came to Hertford, and by him was forwarded to Henry, the bearer of an offer from Kirkaldy, the master of Rothes, and John Charteris, “to apprehend or sleet the cardinal” in one of his journeys through Fife‡. We know not what answer he received:

* Stowe, 594. The name of the ambassador was Vielleville, who was so delighted with the national sports of bull-baiting and bear-baiting, that he undertook to introduce these elegant amusements among his countrymen, and took back with him a bull and bull dogs to France. For some years bull-baiting continued to be in high favour, but fell into disuse during the religious wars which followed. *Mém.* xxviii. 331.

† He was instructed “to raze to the ground the castle of Edinburgh, “Holyrood house, Leith, and the villages, and t put man, woman, and “child to the sword, wherever resistance was offered; and then to proceed to the cardinal’s town of St. Andrew’s, not to leave there a stone “or a stick standing, and not to spare a living creature within the same.” See these most barbarous instructions in Tytler, vi. 473.

‡ Keith, 44. Tytler, vi. 456.

probably it was the same as was given the next year to the earl of Cassilis, who, having visited the king, on his return to Scotland informed Sadler that his friends would murder the cardinal for a reward proportioned to their services. Henry was unwilling to commit himself by the express approbation of the crime: and Sadler was instructed to reply that, if he were in the place of Cassilis, he would do the deed, and trust to the king's gratitude for the reward*. They, however, required the royal assurance; Crichton, laird of Brunston, repeated the offer; and, though he received the same answer, continued to correspond with Henry on the subject. At last revenge stimulated the conspirators to do that, to which they had hitherto been tempted by the mere prospect of pecuniary remuneration. Under their protection George Wishart, perhaps the same who had conveyed the first offer to Henry†, had preached for some time the new gospel, and been the exciting cause of repeated riots. He had the misfortune, however, to fall into the hands of Beaton, by whose orders he was condemned and executed at St. Andrew's, being hanged for sedition, and burnt for heresy. To this provocation was added a private quarrel between the cardinal and the master of Rothes, respecting an estate in Fife: and only two months after the death of Wishart, that young nobleman, Kirkaldy, and others, "were stirred up by the

May
29. "Lord," if we may believe Foxe‡, to make the attempt which they had so long meditated. Profiting of the negligence of the warder, they entered the castle of St. Andrew's at an early hour, and slew the cardinal in his

* "His highness not reputeing the fact mete to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it, and yet not misliking the offer thinketh good that Mr. Sadler should say that if he were in the earl of Cassillis place," &c. Tytler's history of Scotland, 461. These deeds of darkness had escaped the notice of historians during three centuries, but have been lately exposed to the public eye by the industry and research of Mr. Tytler.

† This has been often asserted, and is rendered probable by the known connexion between him and all the parties to these attempts against the cardinal.

‡ Foxe, 526.

bed-chamber. At the first alarm the citizens hastened to the defence of their archbishop; but, at the sight of the dead body suspended from a window, they retired to their homes. The castle had been lately fortified and provisioned; Knox, the Scottish reformer, to show his approbation of "the godly fact," led one hundred and forty of his disciples to the aid of the murderers; and a resolution was formed by the whole body to defend themselves against all opponents, and to solicit the protection of the king of England. Neither did the treaty of Campes disappoint their hopes. If the Scots were included in it, yet Henry would only bind himself to abstain from hostilities, provided no additional provocation were given; and, on the other side, the earl of Arran, the governor, refused to accept of any peace, unless the Scottish fortresses, in possession of the English, were restored, and the murderers of Beaton were abandoned to their fate.

After some negotiation he sat down before the castle: but though he bore with patience the severity of the winter, though he repulsed an English squadron conveying money and military stores, the obstinacy of the garrison defeated every attempt; and he was at last compelled to break up the siege, that he might preside at a convention of the three estates in the capital. The death of Henry made no alteration in the policy of the English cabinet. The protector hastily concluded two treaties with the murderers; by the first of which they bound themselves to procure, with all their power, the marriage of their infant sovereign with Edward VI., and never to surrender the castle during her minority to any Scotsman without a previous licence in writing from the king and the protector; by the second they engaged to give effectual aid to the English army which should enter Scotland, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the young queen, and to deliver the castle to English commissioners, as soon as she should come into the hands of Edward VI. or the marriage between them

should be solemnized. The English government in return granted pensions to each of the chiefs, and undertook to pay half-yearly the wages of a garrison of one hundred and twenty men*.

The second of these treaties was hardly signed before it was treacherously communicated to the governor.

From it he discovered the object of the protector; and
Mar. immediately published a proclamation, ordering all fen-
19. cible men to assemble, on forty days' notice, at a given place with provisions for a month, that they might be prepared to repel the threatened invasion of their country. For greater security he applied to the new king of France, who cheerfully confirmed the ancient alliance between the two kingdoms, and added a promise of succour both in men and money. The irruptions of the English marchers had called Arran to the borders, where he razed to the ground the castle of Langhope, but was called from the siege of Cawmyllis to St. **June** Andrew's by the arrival of Strozzi, prior of Capua, with a fleet of sixteen French gallies. The combined forces **July** besieged the castle; a considerable breach was made
23. by the French artillery; and the garrison surrendered
30. with a promise of their lives. The prisoners were conveyed to France, and placed at the disposal of Henry, who confined some of them in the fortresses on the coast of Bretagne, and sent the others, amongst whom was the celebrated preacher John Knox, to labour in the galleys, from which they were not released before 1550. Arran recovered his eldest son, who had been detained a captive ever since the assassination, and demolished the works, that the place might not hereafter fall into the hands of the English, and be held by them to the terror of the open country†.

The month of August expired before the protector

* Rym. xv. 132. 144. The pension to the master of Rothes was 280*l.*; to Kirkaldy, 200*l.* per annum. For the pay of the garrison, &c., they received ii. February 1180*l.*, and in May 1300*l.*, Burnet, ii. 8. 31.

† Spist. Reg. Scot. ii. 380. Keith, 53. Leslie, 461

had completed the preparations for his intended expedition*. Taking with him the earl of Warwick, as second in command, he crossed the Tweed at the head of twenty thousand men, and directed his march upon Edinburgh; while the fleet of twenty-four galleys and an equal number of store ships, under the lord Clinton, crept along the shore without losing sight of the army†. To meet this invasion Arran had despatched the fire-cross from clan to clan, and had ordered every Scotsman to join his standard at Musselburgh: but he soon found the multitude too numerous for any useful purpose, and, having selected thirty thousand men, dismissed the rest to their homes. The two armies were soon in sight, and a bloody rencounter between the Scottish and English cavalry at Falside taught them to respect each other‡.

The next morning Arran passed the Eske, a movement which led to the great battle of Pinkenkleugh. The Scottish army, consisting almost entirely of footmen, was divided into three bodies, each of which, marching in close order, presented a dense forest of pikes. The lord Grey, commander of the English gens d'armes, hoping to take advantage of some apparent confusion in the most advanced of these bodies, ordered his men to charge it in flank. They paid severely for their temerity. The bravest of them fell, their commander was wounded with a pike in the mouth, and the colours were nearly captured. This check was, however, repaired by the steadiness of the Italian and Spanish mercenaries, who, being mounted, rode towards the enemy, and, halting at a short distance, discharged their fire-arms into the front ranks. At the same time a raking fire was opened on the Scots from a

* Mr. Tytler has discovered in the State Papers that two hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen had treasonably engaged to join him in Scotland. Hist. vi. 18–21.

† See the numbers in Holinshed, 980. The instructions of the admiral are in Chron. Catal. p. 294. The master of Ruthven was in the fleet, who had promised to betray Perth into the hands of the English with the aid of his father, lord Ruthven of Gowrie: and sir John Luttrell was to furnish the names of the Scots, "which had layed in their fayth after assurance made," that their lauds might be ravaged. Ibid.

‡ Haywood tells us that the loss of the Scots was thirteen hundred men, of the English, one Spanish hackbutter wounded, and three cavalry officers taken in the pursuit. Haywood, 282. Leslie, on the contrary, says that the loss was equal, about one thousand men on each side. Leslie, 462.

galley and two pinnaces in the bay, and they were exposed to the destructive fire of a battery planted on the eminence; and the confusion was increased by volleys of arrows which the English archers shot over the ranks of the foreign auxiliaries. The fugitives soon rallied; the protector led the main army to the attack; and the Scots wavered, broke, and fled. The pursuit was continued for several hours, and the slain on the part of the vanquished amounted at a low computation to eight thousand men. The earl of Huntley, chancellor of Scotland, the lords Yester and Wemyss, and the master of Semple, were among the prisoners*.

From the field of battle the conqueror marched to Leith, spent four days in plundering the town and the neighbouring villages, and hastily retraced his steps, Sept. followed by Arran at the head of a small but active 18. body of cavalry. This sudden retreat, after so brilliant a victory, surprised both his friends and foes. It could not originate from want of provisions, or the intemperance of the season, or the approach of a superior enemy. By some it was said that, intoxicated with vanity, he was eager to enjoy the applause of the people, and to receive the thanks of his nephew; by others it was believed that the secret intrigues of his brother the lord admiral had induced him to forego the advantages of victory, and to hasten back to the court. The expedition was begun and ended within the short period of sixteen days.

The late king was doomed to the usual fate of despotic monarchs after their deaths. The very men, who during his life had been the obsequious ministers of his will, were now the first to overturn his favourite projects. Somerset and his associates had already established a different form of government; they undertook to establish a different religious creed. Under Henry they had deemed it prudent to conceal their attachment to the new gospel; now, freed from restraint, they openly

* Leslie, 464. Buchan, l. xv. Hollinsh. 984. Hayward, 285.

professed themselves its patrons, and aided its diffusion with all the influence of the crown. Their zeal was the more active, as it was stimulated by the prospect of reward. For though they were the depositaries of the sovereign authority, they had yet to make their private fortunes; and for that purpose they looked with eagerness to the possessions of the church, from which, though much had been torn during the havoc of the last reign, much still remained to be gleaned*. From the young king they could experience no opposition now, they feared no resentment hereafter. The men to whom his education had been intrusted by Henry were zealous though secret partisans of the reformed doctrines. They had made it their chief care to transfuse the new opinions into the mind of their royal pupil; Edward already believed that the worship, so rigorously enforced by his father, was idolatrous, and there could be little doubt that his early prepossessions would, as he advanced in age, acquire strength from the industry of his teachers, and the approbation of his counsellors.

Still, to change the established creed during his minority must have appeared an undertaking of some difficulty and danger. There was no certainty that the people would pay to the protector and his advisers that deference, which had been extorted by the theological despotism of the late monarch; and a second pilgrimage of grace, excited by religious innovations, might speedily overturn their authority. On this account they determined to proceed with steady but cautious steps. Among their own colleagues there were only two of whose sentiments they were doubtful, Wriothesley and the bishop of Durham. The first, as the reader has seen, was already excluded from the council; pretexts were invented to confine the prelate almost entirely to his diocese; and the conduct of the business was committed to the policy and moderation of the archbishop of Canterbury.

* Heylin, 33. Godwin, 88. 91.

That prelate began the attempt by giving to his brother bishops a very intelligible hint, that the possession of their sees depended on their compliance with the pleasure of the council. Arguing that his ecclesiastical authority, since it emanated from the crown, must have expired with the late king, he petitioned to be restored to his former jurisdiction, and accepted a new commission to execute the functions of an archbishop, till such commission should be revoked by the sovereign*. Many, probably all, of his colleagues, were compelled to follow the example of the metropolitan.

The next step was to establish a royal visitation. For that purpose the kingdom was divided into six circuits, to each of which was assigned a certain number of visitors, partly clergymen, and partly laymen. The moment they arrived in any diocese, the exercise of spiritual authority by every other person ceased. They summoned before them the bishop, the clergy, and eight, six, or four of the principal householders from each parish, administered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, required answers upon oath to every question which they thought proper to put, and exacted a promise of obedience to the royal injunctions†. These injunctions amounted in number to thirty-seven: they regarded matters of religious practice and doctrine; and were for the most part so framed, that, under the pretext of abolishing abuses, they might pave the way for subsequent innovations. With them was delivered a book of homilies to be read in every church on Sundays and holidays, with an order that each clergyman should provide for himself, and each parish for the congregation, one copy of the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament. But the same policy, which thus supplied books of instruction, was careful to limit the number of instructors; and the power of preaching was by successive restrictions confined at last to such clergy-

* Wilkins, iv. 2.

† Wilkins, iv. 11. 14. 17. Collier, ii. Records.

men only as should obtain licences from the protector or the metropolitan*. The object was evident: the people heard no other doctrines than those which were contained in the homilies, for the most part the composition of the archbishop, or which were delivered by the preachers, whose duty it was to echo his opinions, and to inveigh against the more ancient creed.

Among the prelates there was no individual whom the men of the new learning more feared, or those of the old learning more respected, for his erudition and abilities, his spirit and influence, than Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. That prelate before the visitation of his diocese had obtained copies of the homilies and the paraphrase, and immediately commenced a long and animated controversy with the protector and the archbishop. He maintained that the two books in several instances contradicted each other; that they inculcated doctrines irreconcilable with the creed established by act of parliament; and that they contained errors, which he deemed himself able to demonstrate to the conviction of any reasonable man. In his letter to the protector he urged with much force, that Edward was too young to understand, Somerset too much occupied to study, subjects of controversy; that it was imprudent to disturb the public peace during the king's minority, for the sole purpose of supporting the theological fancies of the metropolitan; that injunctions issued by the king could not invalidate acts of parliament; and that, as cardinal Wolsey had incurred a *præmunire*, though he acted under the royal licence, so every clergyman, who taught the doctrines in the homilies and paraphrase, would be liable to the penalties enacted by the statute

* Wilk. iv. 27. 30. Even the very bishops could not preach in their own dioceses without licence. See two instances in Strype, ii. 90. Coverdale was so delighted with the injunctions, the homilies, and the paraphrase, that he pronounced the young king to be "the high and chief admiral of the great navy of the Lord of Hosts, principal captain and governor of us all under him; the most noble ruler of his ship, even our most comfortable Noah, whom the eternal God hath chosen to be the bringer of us unto rest and quietness." Apud Strype, ii. 65.

of the six articles, though he might plead a royal injunction in his favour. To Cranmer he wrote in a different tone, defying him to prove the truth of certain doctrines inculcated in the book of homilies, and reproaching him with duplicity, in now reprobating the opinions which he had so zealously taught during the life of the late king*. In consequence of these letters he was summoned before the council, and required to promise obedience to the royal injunctions. He replied that he was not bound to answer, unless the injunctions were tendered to him. Let them wait till the visitors arrived in his diocese. If he should then refuse, they might determine whether that refusal were a contempt of the royal authority or not. But this objection was overruled; Cranmer gladly embraced any pretext to silence so dangerous an opponent during the approaching parliament; and Gardiner, though he could not be charged with any offence against the law, was committed to the Fleet, and detained a close prisoner till the end of the session†.

Nov. 4. The proceedings of this parliament are deserving of the reader's attention. Many of the chantries, colleges, and free chapels, though given to Henry VIII. by a late act, had escaped the rapacious grasp of that monarch. It was now proposed to place these, with all the funds destined for the support of obits, anniversaries, and church lights, and all guild lands possessed by fraternities for the same purpose, at the

* "Which, if it had been so" (if the doctrine in the late king's book had been erroneous) "I ought to think your grace would not, for all princes christened, being so high a bishop as ye be, have yielded unto. For obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus. And therefore, after your grace hath four years continually lived in agreement of that doctrine, under our late sovereign lord, now so suddenly after his death to write to me, that his highness was seduced, it is, I assure you, a very strange speech." Strype's Cranmer, App. p. 74.

† See the correspondence in Foxe, ii. 35—70. During Gardiner's confinement, attempts were made to obtain his co-operation in the new plan of reform. On one occasion the archbishop told him that "he liked nothing unless he did it himself." He replied, that "he was not guilty of such obstinacy; and that he had never been author yet of any one thing either temporal or spiritual; for which he thanked God." A hint was given that his compliance might be rewarded with a place in the council, and an addition to his income. But he answered indignantly, that his character and conscience forbade it; and that, "if he agreed on such terms, he should deserve to be whipped in every market-town in the realm, and then to be hanged for an example as the vilest varlet that ever was bishop in any realm christened." Ibid. 64, 65.

disposal of the king, that he might employ them in providing for the poor, augmenting the income of vicarages, paying the salaries of preachers, and endowing free schools for the diffusion of learning*. The archbishop, aware of the real object of the bill, spoke against it at first with some warmth. But, as the harpies of the court were eager to pounce on their prey, he deemed it prudent to withdraw his opposition; and it was passed in the lords by a triumphant majority†. In the commons a strong objection was made to that clause which went to deprive the guilds of their lands: but the leaders of the opposition, the members for Lynn and Coventry, were silenced by a promise that the crown should restore to those towns the lands of which they might be deprived by the act. A saving clause was added to secure to all persons such lands, tenements, tithes, and rents, as had been already granted to them either by the late or the present king‡.

2. But if the ministers sought to provide for the sovereign and for themselves, they were careful to repair many of those breaches in the constitution which had been made by the despotism of the last reign. All felonies created since the 1st of Henry VIII. and all treasons created since the 25th of Edward III. were at once erased from the statute-book; the privilege of clergy, with the exception of a few cases, was restored; in convictions of treason two witnesses were required; the laws against the Lollards, the prohibition of reading the scriptures, and of printing, selling or retaining certain English publications, all enactments respecting

* Our law books teach that, by the statute passed on this occasion, lands and goods subsequently given for superstitious uses are forfeited to the king; and yet the operation of the statute is expressly limited to lands and goods belonging to colleges and chantries which existed within the five last years, or given for anniversaries, obits, and lights kept or maintained within "the five yeres next before the saide first date of this present parliament." *St. of Realm*, iv. 25, 26. There is nothing in the act to make it prospective.

† On the first division in the lords the minority consisted of the bishops of Canterbury, London, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester. At the last, Canterbury and Worcester were not in the house, and Norwich voted with the court. *Journals*, 308. 313.

‡ *St. of Realm*, iv. 24. The chantries and free chapels were valued at 2,593*l.* per annum, and sold for 46,249*l.* 14*s.* *Styrye*, ii. Rec. 85. A great number of grammar-schools were founded chiefly out of the chantry lands. *Ibid.* 535.

doctrine and matters of religion, and the statute which gave to the royal proclamations the force of law, were repealed: and in place of the act of the 28th of the late king, which empowered his heir, if he were a minor at the time of his accession, to annul afterwards all statutes passed before he had attained the full age of twenty-four years, was substituted another to the same effect, but with this proviso, that though he might deprive them of all force after that term, he could not invalidate them as to their effects during the intermediate period †. It should, however, be observed that, if, by the repeal of so many statutes, every sort of religious restraint was removed from the men of the new learning, it was not intended to grant any additional liberty to those of the old. The claim of the spiritual supremacy was placed on an equal footing with the other rights of the crown; and to deny that the king was head of the church was made the same kind of capital offence, as to deny that he was head of the state. A distinction was, however, drawn between the denial by words and the denial by writing, imprinting, or deed. The latter was at once an act of high treason; the former became so only by repetition. The first offence was punishable with fine and imprisonment at the royal pleasure; the second subjected the offender to all the penalties of a *præmunire*; and the third condemned him to suffer as a traitor by the knife of the executioner‡.

3. The convocation had been assembled at the same time as the parliament; and the members of the lower house, anxious to recover their former share in the exercise of the legislative power, petitioned to be united to the house of commons, or, if that might not be granted, to be allowed a negative on all bills respecting religion. To this petition no answer was returned: but two questions, concerning the lawfulness of marriage in the clergy, and of communion under both kinds, were submitted to their consideration. The first of these was carried in the affirmative by a majority of almost two-

* Stat. of Realm, iv. 17, 18.

† Ibid. 19.

thirds; and a bill in its favour was introduced into the house of commons: but its advocates, whether they apprehended an obstinate opposition from the lords, or were content with the advantage which they had gained, permitted the matter to sleep for the present session. The second was approved unanimously; and a bill was framed on that decision. It stated, that the ministering of the blessed sacrament to all christian people under both kinds, of bread and wine, is more agreeable to its first institution, and more conformable to the common practice of the apostles and the primitive church for five hundred years; and therefore enacts, that the said most blessed sacrament shall be commonly delivered and ministered to the people under both kinds. It permits, however, communion under one kind, when necessity may require it; and professes not to censure any foreign church, which may retain the contrary practice. To neutralize the opposition of the prelates, who were hostile to this bill, it was artfully appended to another, which they most anxiously sought to carry, prohibiting, under pain of fine and imprisonment, the application of scurrilous and offensive language to the sacrament of the eucharist. Thus coupled together as one act, they passed both houses, and received the royal assent*.

4. In conformity with the opinion so often inculcated by archbishop Cranmer, it was declared that all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, is derived from the king; and on that account the election of bishops was withdrawn from the deans and chapters, as a useless and unmeaning form, and vested immediately in the crown; and it was ordered that all citations and processes of archbishops and bishops, which used to run in their names, should thenceforth be made in the name of the king, but tested by the bishop, and countersigned by his commissary; and that all official documents issued from their courts should be sealed, not with the episcopal, but with the royal arms†.

5. The mendicants, who had formerly obtained relief

* Stat. of Realm, iv. 2. The non-contents were the bishops of London, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester. Journals, 306. † Ibid. 3.

at the gates of the monasteries and convents, now wandered in crowds through the country, and by their numbers and importunities often extorted alms from the intimidated passenger. To abate this nuisance a statute was enacted, which will call to the recollection of the reader the barbarous manners of our pagan forefathers. Whosoever "lived idly and loiteringly for the space of "three days" came under the description of a vagabond, and was liable to the following punishment. Two justices of the peace might order the letter V to be burnt on his breast, and adjudge him to serve the informer two years as his slave. His master was bound to provide him with bread, water, and refuse meat; might fix an iron ring round his neck, arm, or leg, and was authorized to compel him to "labour at any work, "however vile it might be, by beating, chaining, or other- "wise." If the slave absented himself a fortnight, the letter S was burnt on his cheek or forehead, and he became a slave for life; and if he offended a second time in like manner, his flight subjected him to the penalties of felony*. Two years later this severe statute was repealed†.

- Aug. 6. The close of this session was marked by a transaction
 11. without parallel in our history. The duke of Somerset, preparatory to his expedition against the Scots, had received from the king letters patent explanatory of his original commission. By these it was declared that in quality of "governor of the royal person, and protector "of the realm and people during the term of the king's "minority," he was the "king's lieutenant and captain- "general of war by sea and land, possessing all the au- "thority of a commander-in-chief, with the power of con- "ferring the honour of knighthood, of baronage, or any "other rank of nobility, in reward of military service, and "of declaring war against, or of concluding peace with, any

* Stat. of Realm, iv. 5. With respect to clerks convicted of felony, they, if they were entitled to purgation in the bishop's court, were to be slaves for one year; if not so entitled, to be slaves for five years. Ibid.

† Ibid. 115. Thus the statute of 22 Hen. VIII., 12, was revived, which allowed persons to beg with the licence of the magistrates, and punished beggars without licence by whipping, or the stocks for three days and three nights.

“foreign power, according to his own judgment and discretion*.” Both these patents, by which the whole power of the crown was vested in his person, he had surrendered, during the parliament, into the hands of his nephew, and had received in place of them a new commission, which, indeed, restored to him, with an unimportant exception, all the powers of the former, but at the same time made the duration of his office dependent on the good pleasure of the king, who might at will deprive him of it by a writ under the great seal and the sign manual. What, then, could induce the protector, who was now in the zenith of his power, to consent to so disadvantageous an exchange? No reason is stated. But we know that great misgivings existed with regard to the validity of the first commission, because it emanated from the council, which had not the power to create such an office†. This was an inherent defect, which certainly could not be cured by a second commission, proceeding in reality from the same source; but it seems to have been thought that the appointment would be less objectionable, if, instead of being permanent, it were made revocable at the king’s pleasure; and if it were confirmed also with the signatures of almost every man of consequence in the realm. The first of these expedients might be easily attained by a change in the form of the instrument; the second was accomplished by the following contrivance‡. At the prorogation of parliament on December 24, before the members had departed, an extraordinary meeting was called, and the new commission was read before those who attended. It bore already the

* Rymer, xv. 174.

† Paget writes to Somerset, “I believe, sir, if anything chance amiss, that not only your grace shall give the account, which have authority in your hands, but also such as did first assent and accord to give it you.” Strype, *Rec. part ii.* p. 111.

‡ From the instrument itself it appears that it was subscribed on the 24th of December. The omission of any mention of the subscription in the Journals shows that it did not take place before the prorogation. I conclude that it took place immediately afterwards, because all the lords who, according to the Journals, were in the house, subscribed the commission in proper order, excepting the bishop of Bath and lord Powis, who may be supposed to have departed immediately after the prorogation. Lord Seymour and the bishop of St. David’s were not in the house, but subscribed the instrument. Probably they came later, for, though the bishop subscribes, it is not in his proper order, but in a vacant space.

sign manual, and was now subscribed by Ryche, the lord chancellor, by the other lords, both spiritual and temporal, according to the usual order of precedency in the house, and then by distinguished commoners, privy councillors, judges, and most of the civil and law officers of the crown, to the number of sixty-two individuals. It was certainly an improvement of the manner in which the protectorship had been originally conferred. Then the appointment was announced to a meeting of the lords, who were supposed to approve, because no one objected; now all who were present testified their approbation by appending their signatures to the commission. To these signatures Somerset Dec. frequently appealed in his subsequent troubles*. The session 24. closed with a general pardon from the king, in consequence of which Gardiner obtained his liberty†.

The result of this meeting of parliament cheered the men of the new learning with the most flattering anticipations: but the archbishop, aware that the great majority of the nation was still attached to the ancient faith, deemed it prudent to moderate their zeal, and pursued his course with caution and perseverance. Latimer, who had resigned his bishopric in 1539, was called from his retirement, and appointed to preach at St. Paul's cross. The 1548. character of the man, the boldness of his invectives, his Jan. 1. quaint but animated eloquence, were observed to make a deep impression on the minds of his hearers; and a pulpit was erected for him in the king's privy garden, where the young Edward, attended by his court, listened to sermons of an hour's duration, and admired what he could not understand, the controversial superiority of the preacher‡.

* The commission itself, with the signatures, is in the possession of William Stanton, esquire, of Longbridge House, Warwick, and has been published, with valuable remarks, by Mr. G. Nichols, in *Archæol.* xxx. 463.

† In one of his letters, written during the session, he hints that, if any man thought it politic to keep him from parliament, such person ought to consider whether his forcible absence, with that of those whom he had been used to name in the nether house, might not afterwards be urged as an objection to the validity of the proceedings. *Foxe*, ii. 69. I notice this passage, because it proves that several boroughs at that period were so dependent on the lords and bishops, that they not only returned the members named by such lords, but without such nomination made no return at all.

‡ He gave to Latimer as a reward for his first sermon 20*l.* The money was secretly supplied by the lord admiral.

The bishops received orders to abolish in their respective dioceses the custom of bearing candles on Candlemas-day, of receiving ashes on Ash Wednesday, and of carrying palms on Palm Sunday *. The late king had frequently commanded the removal from the churches of all such images as had been the occasion of superstition and abuse: a proclamation now appeared, which Feb complained that these injunctions had given birth to 24. dissensions among the parishioners, and required that, to restore tranquillity, all images whatsoever should be destroyed †. To this succeeded an order for the public Mar. administration of the sacrament under both kinds and 13. in the English language. To avoid offence, no alteration was made in the mass itself; no expression liable to objection was introduced into the new office; but at the end of the canon, an exhortation was ordered to be made to the communicants, a prayer followed, and the eucharist was distributed first to the clergy, and then to the laity. But to appease the impatience of the reformers the young king was made to say in the preface: "We would not have our subjects so much to "mistake our judgment, so much to mistrust our "zeal, as if we either could not discern what were to be "done, or would not do all things in good time. God "be praised! we know both what by his word is meet "to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, by the "advice of our most dear uncle, and others of our privy "council, with all diligence to set forth the same ‡." The reader should recollect that this learned and zealous theologian was ten years old.

It was soon discovered that imprisonment had not broken the spirit of Gardiner. He was again summoned before the council, and the next day in proof of his submission was ordered to preach at St. Paul's cross in the presence of the king on the feast of St. Peter. To the different subjects which were prescribed to him, he made no objection: but he refused to deliver a

* Wilk. iv. 22.

† Ibid. 23.

‡ Ibid. 11—13.

written discourse which was offered, or to submit his own composition to the correction of the council. He added that, as this was perhaps the only opportunity which the king would have of hearing the truth, he was determined, whatever might be the consequence, to explain to his young sovereign the catholic doctrine with respect to the mass and the eucharist. The sermon was preached, June 29. and the next day the bishop was committed to the Tower. 30. His discourse might be divided into three parts. With the first, which commended the religious innovations of the last and the present reign, even his enemies were satisfied; of the second, in which he maintained that a rightful king was as much a sovereign in his infancy as at a more mature age, they could not complain; though it disappointed the hopes of the protector, who wished him to contradict a very prevailing notion, that the authority of the council during the minority did not extend to the issuing of new injunctions, but was confined to the execution of the existing laws. It was the third part which furnished the pretext for his commitment, under the charge of disobedience. In it he had treated of the mass and the eucharist, though the protector had forbidden him in writing to touch on any controverted matter respecting these questions. In his own justification he alleged, that he had not been guilty of disobedience, because the letter was a private communication and not an order from the king in council, and because he had entered into no controversy, but had confined himself to the explication of the established doctrine of the English church, in language similar to that employed by the archbishop in the disputation with Lambert*. His imprisonment was evidently illegal: but his absence from parliament was not less desirable in the present than it had been in the past year. His constancy, however, encouraged the partisans of the

* The protector's letter is in Wilkins, iv. 28. The other particulars are extracted from the articles against Gardiner, and his answers in Foxe, ii. 75—77.

ancient faith ; and in a short time several other prelates ventured to express their disapprobation of the attempts of the metropolitan.

Cranmer had lately published a catechism “ for the singular profit and instruction of children and young people * ; ” and was now employed with a committee of bishops and divines in the composition of a more important work, a liturgy in the English language, for the use of the English church ; the adoption of which by authority of parliament would, it was hoped, consummate the separation of the kingdom from the communion of Rome, by destroying the similarity which still remained in the mode of religious worship sanctioned by the two churches. Taking the Latin missals and breviaries for the groundwork, they omitted such parts as they deemed superfluous or superstitious, translated others, and by numerous additions and corrections endeavoured to meet the wishes of the new teachers, without shocking the belief or the prejudices of their opponents. Before Christmas they had compiled a book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, after the use of the church of England †. To the premature judgment and early piety of the king the completion of the work

* It is remarkable, that in this catechism the archbishop leans more than usually to the ancient doctrines. He comprises the prohibition of false Gods and of images under one commandment, teaches that in the communion are received with the bodily mouth the body and blood of Christ, inculcates in strong terms the advantages of confession and absolution, and attributes the origin of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Christ in a manner which seems to do away his former opinion on the same subject. Burnet, ii. 71. Collier, ii. 251.

† The principal differences between this and the present book of common prayer are to be found in the prayer of consecration (it contained, in imitation of all the ancient liturgies, these words : “ Hæare us, we beseeche thee, and with thy holy spirite and worde vouchsafe to bl+esse us and sancti+lie these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maye be unto us the bodie and blood of thy most derely beloved sonne ”), the unctions in baptism and confirmation, the sign of the cross in matrimony, the anointing of the sick, and prayer for the dead. The rubric also in the communion service ordered that the bread should be unleavened, that the communicant should receive at the hand of the priest with the mouth, and that one individual at least in each family should communicate every Sunday in person or by proxy, and pay his share of the expense.

1549. afforded "great comfort and quietness of mind." He
 Jan. hastened to recommend it to the notice of the lords and
 7. commons assembled in parliament: and a bill was introduced to abolish all other forms of worship, and establish this in their place. The preamble states that, whereas numerous dissensions had arisen in the kingdom from the pertinacity with which many adhered to the old, and others to new forms, of divine worship, the king, abstaining of his clemency from the punishment of the offenders, had appointed certain prelates and learned men to compose one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer, by whom that important task had been accomplished by the aid of the Holy Ghost with one uniform agreement*: therefore the two houses, considering the godly travel of the king and council, and the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies of the said book, and the reasons of altering those things which be altered, and of retaining those which be retained, and also the honour of God and the great quietness likely to ensue from the use of the same, do give to his highness most hearty and lowly thanks, and pray that it may be enacted that after the feast of pentecost all ministers of the church within the realm of England shall be bound "to say and use the matins, even song, and "celebration of the Lord's Supper, commonly called the "mass, and administration of each of the sacraments, and "all their common and open prayer, after the order and "form of the said book," and of no other; and that if any parson, vicar, or spiritual person, shall refuse to use it, or shall preach or speak in derogation of it, or shall officiate with any other form, he shall for the first offence forfeit a year's profit of one of his preferments, with six months' imprisonment; for the second lose all his preferments, with a whole year's imprisonment: and for the

* This is an extraordinary assertion. There were eighteen bishops in the committee, which composed the book of common prayer (Collier ii. 243), and eight out of the number voted against it. (Lord's Journals 331.) Would they disapprove in the house what they had approved in the committee?

third be imprisoned for life; and if any one ridicule the same form of worship, menace the minister for using it, or prevail on him to use any other, he shall on the first conviction pay a fine of ten pounds, on the second of twenty, and on the third forfeit all his goods and chattels, and be imprisoned for life*. In the lower house the bill passed without much difficulty; in the higher it experienced a warm opposition; but "after a notable disputation respecting the sacrament ‡," it was carried by a majority of thirty-one to eleven‡.

Jan.

To this important innovation in the manner of public worship, succeeded another, not less important, in the condition of the priesthood. In the last reign the archbishop had contended for the marriage of the clergy with a pertinacity which might have cost him his life; in the present he was assured of a safe and easy victory. The path had already been opened by the decision of the late convocation; and at an early period of the session a bill for the marriage of priests was introduced into the lower house. On the third reading it was discovered that, though it allowed laymen who had wives to take orders, it did not permit clergymen who had received orders to take wives. A new bill was therefore brought in, and passed after a long and stormy discussion. the lords, however, for reasons now unknown, it remained during two months without notice, when a totally different bill was substituted in its place, and on a division was carried by a majority of thirty-nine to twelve †. To this bill the commons assented. It states

15.

1548.

Dec.

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1549.

Feb.

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19.

* St. of Realm, iv. 37, 8. A provision was added, authorizing the singing of psalms "at any due time." Ibid.

† The King's Journal, 6.

‡ Journals, 331. The non-conterts were the earl of Derby, the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, and the lords Dacres and Wyndson. Ibid. The earl of Derby, who supposed that another temporal peer had joined in the opposition, boasted that "the nay of them four would be to be seen as long as the parliament-house stood." Strype, ii. 84.

§ Journals of Com. 4, 5. Journals of Lords, 323, 339. The lords in the minority were the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, Bristol, and Landaff, and the lords Morley, Dacres, Wyndson, and Wharton. Ibid.

that, though it were to be wished that the clergy would observe perpetual continency, as more becoming their spiritual character, rendering them better able to attend to their ministry, and freeing them from worldly cares and embarrassments, yet so many inconveniences had arisen from compulsive chastity, that it was deemed better to allow to those, who could not contain, the godly use of marriage; wherefore it enacts, that thenceforth all laws made by man only, and prohibitory of the marriages of spiritual persons, shall be void and of none effect; but that all divorces hitherto made (in consequence of the statute of the six articles) shall remain valid in law*.

Of these enactments it was natural that men should judge according to the bias given to their minds by their religious notions: but there was another proceeding in this parliament, which appeared to shock the feelings of the whole nation. The protector had a younger brother, sir Thomas Seymour, whose ambition was equal, whose abilities were superior, to his own. Between them a broad distinction had been drawn by the discernment or partiality of the late king; and while Edward had risen to the rank of earl, had obtained the command of armies, and been named one of the governors of his nephew, Thomas had been left without title, and without any other office than that of counsellor to Henry's executors. If the latter bore with impatience the superiority of his brother during the last reign, his discontent was not appeased by the first measures of the present. He had indeed obtained a grant of the manor of Sudeley, and of other manors in eighteen different counties†; had been created a baron by the style of lord Seymour of Sudeley; and had been appointed high admiral of England: but to his ambition these grants and preferments appeared as nothing comparatively with the rank and titles of Edward, who was protector of the realm, guardian of

* St. of Realm, iv. 67.

† Strype, ii. 123. Sudeley had belonged to the abbey of Winchelcombe.

the royal person, lord high treasurer, earl marshal, and duke of Somerset. The first step towards the improvement of his fortune was his marriage with the queen dowager. Whether that princess be entitled to all the praises which have been lavished on her by her panegyrists may fairly be doubted. Certainly she displayed no very great sense of decorum in the precipitancy with which, after the death of Henry, she sought a fourth husband, almost before the dead body of the third was deposited in the grave. We first meet with her at court, probably to offer her congratulations to the new king on his accession. There she spoke in private to lord Seymour, who had once been her wooer. Her words did not transpire, but on her return home she wrote to assure him that they did not proceed from any sudden impulse of passion, but from that affection which she bore to him formerly, and which was still unimpaired*. We next find her watching for his arrival at the postern-gate of her garden at Chelsea, in the dead of the night, and stealthily introducing him into her house, on condition that he should withdraw by seven of the clock, to avoid detection†. From the language in her letters it seems that some contract of espousal soon passed between them; but that contract was kept a profound secret, because, according to ancient precedents, to marry a queen dowager

* Strype, ii. 132.

† This appears from the following passage in her letter to him: "Whan if schal be your pleaur to repayer hether, ye must take sum payne to come erly in the mornynge, that ye may be gone agayne by seven a clocke: and so I suppose ye may come without suspect. I pray you lett me have knowlege over nyght at what hower ye wyll come, that your porteresse may wayte at the gate to the felde for you.—By her that ys and schalbe your humble true and lovyng wyffe duryng her lyf. Kateryn the Quene. —K. P." Ellis, ii. 152. This letter has no date, but if it mean, as it seems to mean, that till seven the darkness of the morning would help to conceal him, it cannot have been written later than the middle of February; and this inference derives confirmation from the twentieth article of the charge brought against Seymour by the council, that his cohabitation with the queen "was so soon, that if she had conceived straight after it should" should have been a great doubt whether the child born should have been "accounted the late king's or the admiral's." Burnet, ii. Rec. 180.

without the permission of the reigning sovereign, was a misdemeanour subjecting the offender to fine and imprisonment. Their furtive meetings, however, could not be continued with safety; and it became a matter of the first importance to procure the royal consent to their marriage*. The pride of Seymour recoiled from asking the favour from his brother, the protector; but at last necessity or opportunity led him to break the matter to Somerset, not as if he spoke of a marriage already contracted, but of one to which he aspired. To carry on the deception, he solicited the good offices of the young Edward and of the lady Mary, that they would induce the queen dowager to favour his suit. From the protector and the council he received a severe reprimand for his presumption; Mary, with a caustic remark, refused to interfere†; but the simplicity of Edward was easily deceived. He not only urged his mother-in-law to marry his uncle, but later, when the council had consented to the match, thanked her for having, at his prayer, done that which she had, in fact, done long before any application was made to him‡. With the person of Catherine, Seymour be-

* It was certainly concealed till the end of May. On the 17th of that month Seymour writes to the queen from St. James's that her sister Anne, wife to sir William Herbert, had joked with him about his lodging at Chelsea. He denied it: "he only went by the garden, as he went to see the "bishop of London's house." But "she told him further tokens, which "made him change colour." He recovered, however, from his fright when he found that she had not learned it from others, but had received it in confidence from the queen herself. See it in Tytler, i. 60; and Miss Strickland's *Queens*, v. 100.

† Mary's reply does her honour: "My lorde, in this case, if it weer for "my nereste kynsman and dereste frend on lyve, of all other creatures in "the worlde it standest leste with my poore honore to be a medler in this "matter, consydering whose wief her Grace was of late—Thynke not un- "kyndness in me, though I refuse to be a medler anywayes in this matter, "assuring you that (wowyng mattres set aparte, wherein I, being a mayde, "am nothyng comynge) if otherwayes it shall lye in my little power to do "you pleser, I shall be as gladd to do it, as you to requyre it." *Ed- lis*, 150.

‡ In Strype, ii. 133. See also Seymour's attainer, *Stat. of Realm*, iv. 63.

came master of her wealth and her dower: but in one thing, which he coveted, he was disappointed, the possession of the jewels presented to her by the late king. These he induced her to claim as if they had been a gift: by the council they were reclaimed as only a loan to her, and the property of the crown †.

The next object of the admiral was to win and monopolize the affection of his nephew. With this view he indulged the young Edward in all his wishes, secretly supplied him with large sums of money ‡, blamed the severity with which he was used by the protector, hinted that he was kept under restraint unbecoming his age and parts and dignity, and purchased with presents the good will of his preceptors, and of the gentlemen of his chamber. From ancient precedents, he contended, that the offices of protector and guardian ought not to be joined in the same person: but that, if one belonged to the elder uncle, the other ought to be conferred on the younger; the king readily imbibed the opinions of the man whom he loved; and a resolution was taken that the nephew should write a letter of complaint; that the admiral should lay it before the two houses of parliament; and that he should attempt, with the aid of his partisans, to procure the guardianship for himself. Seymour had already composed the letter for Edward, who engaged to copy it, when the plot was betrayed to the protector, and the lord admiral was called before the council §. He repelled the charge with haughtiness, and treated their authority with defiance. But when the law officers declared that his offence amounted to an attempt to overturn the established government, and a hint had been thrown out of committing him to the Tower, his courage quickly subsided; he condescended to acknowledge his fault; and the two brothers mutually forgave each other. To seal their reconciliation, an

* Haynes, 73.

† See Edward's Confession, *ibid.* 74. Burnet, ii. Rec. 163.

‡ Burnet, ii. Rec. 153 Stat. of Realm, iv. 62.

addition of eight hundred pounds a-year was made to his appointments.

But a new prospect soon opened to this ambition, which, as it sought for power, was not to be satisfied with money. He began to aspire to the hand of the lady Elizabeth, the king's sister, and to condemn that precipitate union with Catherine, which excluded him from the pursuit of so noble a prize. His attentions to the princess were remarked; and their familiarity was so undisguised, that it afforded employment to the propagators of scandal, and awakened the jealousy of his wife, by whom he was one day surprised with Elizabeth in his arms*. But the queen in a short time died in childbirth; and her death happened so opportunely for his project, that by the malice of his enemies it was attributed to poison†. He now redoubled his court to the princess‡; her governess was bribed; her own affections were won; but a clandestine marriage would, by the will of her father, have annulled her right to the succession; and means were to be devised, to extort

* Haynes, 96, 99.

† Even Elizabeth notices that "she, he had before, ded so mys-kary." Ibid. 101. "He holpe her to her end." St. of Realm, iv. 63.

‡ From the testimony of the reluctant Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth's governess, it appears that the courtship was not conducted in the most delicate manner. The moment he was up, he would hasten to Elizabeth's chamber "in his night gown, and barelegged;" if she were still in bed, "he wold put open the curtyns and make as though he wold come at hir;" "and she wold go farther in the bed, so that he cold not come at hir;" "if she were up, he wold ax how she did, and strike hir upon the bak or the buttocks famylearly." Ibid. 98, 99. He sent James Seymour "to recommend him to hir, and ax hir, whither hir great buttocks were grown any less or no." Ibid. 100. Parry, the cofferer, says, "she told me that the admirall loved her but two well: that the quene was jelowse on hir and him: and that, suspecting the often accesse of the admiral to her, she came sodenly upon them, wher they were all alone, he having her in his armes." Ibid. 96. It was reported, not only that she was pregnant, which she declared to be "a shameful schandler" (ibid. 90.); but also that she bore him a child. "There was a bruit of a childe borne and miserably destroyed, but could not be discovered whose it was, on the report of the midwife, who was brought from her house blindfold thither, and so returned. Saw nothing in the house while she was ther but candlelight: only sayd it was the child of a very fair yong ladie." MS. life of Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria, p. 150. Elizabeth complained of these reports, and the protector at last issued a proclamation against them. Ellis, ii. 153, 157.

what otherwise would not be granted, the consent of the council*. For this purpose, as it was believed, the admiral sought the friendship of the discontented among the nobility, and by condemning the measures of the government, endeavoured to acquire the applause of the people. He censured the employment of foreign troops in the war against Scotland, as an innovation dangerous to the liberties of the country; his nephew was taught to look with a jealous eye on the ambition of the protector; a marriage was secretly projected between the young king and the lady Jane Grey†, the presumptive heiress to the claims of the house of Suffolk; and the riches of the admiral, the number of his retainers, and his influence in different counties, were openly announced and exaggerated by himself and his friends.

The protector at length determined to crush so dangerous a competitor. Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, was examined before the council, on a charge of having amassed an enormous fortune, by clipping the coin, issuing testoons of inferior value ‡, and falsifying the entries made in his books. The admiral, who was his creditor to the amount of three thousand pounds, boldly defended the accused: but Sharington, to save his life, betrayed his advocate, and confessed that he had promised to coin money for Seymour, who could reckon on the services of ten thousand men, and intended with their aid to carry off the king, and to change the present

* Elizabeth acknowledges his proposal of marriage in a letter to the protector for the purpose of excusing Mrs. Ashley. Ellis, 11. 154. Both Ashley and Parry were true to her on this occasion: they could not be brought to admit of anything criminal in her conduct. When she became queen, she rewarded them by making Parry comptroller of the household, and keeping Ashley as a confidential servant at court till her death.

† He had prevailed on the marquess and the marchioness of Dorset to allow the young lady to stay with the queen dowager: after whose death he again prevailed on them to agree that their daughter should reside with him, promising to bring about a marriage between her and the king. Tyt. i. 138.

‡ The testoons passed for twelve pence, but were not intrinsically of half the value. A new coinage was issued of sovereigns and half-sovereigns, and of crowns and half-crowns, of the value of twenty, ten, five shillings, and two shillings and sixpence. These were of gold: the silver pieces were the shilling in place of the testoons, and the half-shilling. Strype, 11, 113, 120.

1549. form of the government*. On this confession he was
 Jan. found guilty, and attainted of high treason: the admiral
 16. was committed to the Tower, and underwent several ex-
 aminations, sometimes before a deputation, once before the
 whole of the council. On these trying occasions he lost
 nothing of his usual spirit. He heard the charges against
 him with disdain, claimed to be confronted with his ac-
 cusers, and required a copy of the information. Such de-
 mands, though consonant to the principles of justice, were
 contrary to the practice of the age: the young king
 abandoned one uncle to the jealousy or vengeance of the
 other; and, in imitation of the illegal precedents of the
 Feb. last reign, a bill of attainder against him was brought
 25. into the house of lords. The judges and law officers of
 the crown gave their opinion, that some of the charges
 amounted to treason: and several peers, rising in their
 places, repeated the evidence which they had already
 given before the council. Somerset attended at each
 27. reading of the bill. On the third it was passed with-
 out a division, and was sent to the other house with a
 message that the lords, who were personally acquainted
 with the traitorous designs of the admiral, would, if were
 required, repeat their evidence before the commons. In
 that house an unexpected opposition was made. It was
 contended that to convict by bill of attainder was con-
 trary to law and justice: that by the late statute the
 accused had a right to be confronted with his accusers;

* I have extracted these particulars from the original depositions in the
 Burghley State Papers, the Records in Burnet, and the act of attainder of
 Sharrington. Several other particulars, mentioned by historians, I have
 omitted, because they are not supported by these documents. Nor have I
 given full credit to the documents themselves; particularly as to the sum
 of money promised to him by Sharrington, and the number of men at his
 disposal. It has been said that the quarrel between the two brothers
 was owing originally to a quarrel between their wives; but this again has
 been disputed by some modern historians, as depending only on the asser-
 tion of Sanders. It is, however, also mentioned by Foxe, p. 96. I am
 indeed aware that the authority of Foxe is not one jot better than that of
 Sanders: but, when two violent writers of opposite parties agree in the
 same statement, it may be presumed to have some foundation in truth.
 The king himself notices in his Journal (p. 4), that "the lord protector
 "was much offended with his brother's marriage." He might also dread the
 influence of Seymour over the mind of the young Edward; for Somerset now
 held his office at the king's pleasure, who could on any day, at the admiral's
 persuasion, remove him from it.

and that it was unreasonable to condemn him, till he had been heard in his own defence. After the second reading the lords repeated their message; and, having waited for a considerable time, requested the protector to receive the answer, and to report it to the house the next day. But he preferred to put an end to the discussion by a message from the king, declaring that it was unnecessary to hear the admiral at the bar of the house, and repeating the offer of the evidence of the lords. The opponents of the court were silenced; the bill passed, and received the royal assent at the end of the session *.

Three days later the warrant for the execution of Seymour was signed by the council, and among the names appear those of Somerset and Cranmer, both of whom might, it was thought, have abstained from that ungracious office, the one on account of his relationship to the prisoner, the other because the canons prohibited to clergymen all participation in judgments of blood †. On the scaffold the unhappy man loudly proclaimed his innocence: nor will those who attentively peruse the thirty-three charges against him, and the depositions on which they were founded, be inclined to dispute his assertion. His enmity was not against the king but against his brother. His ambition prompted him to seek a share of that power which Somerset had arrogated to himself; his influence, his intrigues, his ascendancy over the mind of his nephew, might have been dangerous to the authority of the protector; but there is no sufficient evidence that he intended to carry off the king, or to raise a civil war within the kingdom. It was thought that, if his offence had been more clearly established, he might still have obtained pardon from the charity of a brother; and it was suspected that Sharington had been suborned to calumniate him, as the price

* Lord's Journals, 345—347. Journals of Commons, 8. Stat. of Realm, iv. 61.

† Burnet, ii. Rec. 164.

of his own life; a suspicion which was almost converted
 Nov. into certainty, when that offender was not only pardoned,
 5. but restored to his former appointment, and found still
 to possess a considerable fortune.* Latimer, however,
 who seems to have believed in the infallibility of the
 council, undertook their defence. In a sermon preached
 before the king and a numerous audience, he severely
 condemned the temerity of those who presumed to judge
 of the conduct of men in power, without being acquainted
 with their motives; and justified the execution of Sey-
 mour, whom he declared to have led a sensual, dissolute,
 irreligious life, and to have died in a manner suitable to
 his life, "dangerously, irksomely, horribly;" whilst of
 Sharington he spoke in terms of approbation, and main-
 tained that the fervency of his repentance entitled him
 to his pardon, and made him a fit example for the en-
 couragement and imitation of sinners†. This tragedy
 has left a deep stain on the memory both of Somerset
 and of Latimer. Somerset sacrificed a brother to ward
 off the danger of a rival; Latimer prostituted his holy
 office to sanctify a deed of cruelty and injustice.

We may now return to the Scottish war. The defeat
 of the Scots had not subdued their antipathy to the pro-
 posed marriage between Edward and Mary. To an
 unprejudiced mind, indeed, that marriage must have

* In 1550 he bought back of the king the manors and lands which he had forfeited, for the sum of 12,866*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* He had been already restored in blood, and had obtained his former office. Strype, ii. 199.

† Latimer not only arraigned the life of the admiral, but also his death. According to the account in his sermon, as Seymour laid his head on the block, he told the servant of the lieutenant, to bid *his* servant speed the thing that he wot of. That servant was apprehended, and confessed that the admiral had by some means procured ink in the Tower, had used for a pen the aiglet of a point which he plucked from his hose, and had, written two letters to the lady Mary and lady Elizabeth, which he sewed within the sole of a velvet shoe. The shoe was opened, and the letters were found. Their object was to excite the jealousy of the king's sisters against the protector as their great enemy. Hence the preacher concluded that God had clean forsaken him. "Whether," he adds, "he be saved or no, I leave it to God: but surely he was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him." See Latimer's fourth sermon in the 1st edit. Later editors, ashamed of the passage, have thought proper to omit it. See also Godwin, 93. Strype, i. 126.

appeared to offer numerous and valuable benefits to the country: but in the opposite scale of the balance were to be weighed the hereditary hatred which divided the two nations; the idea that Scotland would become a province of that kingdom, which had so often but so vainly laboured to subvert its independence; and the apprehension that the loss of the national independence would be followed by the loss of the national religion. Even among those, who were not moved by these considerations, there were many who, with the earl of Huntley, condemned "the manner of the wooing." To seek the friendship of a nation by declaring war against it, to claim the affection of a woman by inflicting injuries on her friends and her possessions, were novel and doubtful experiments; and the protector soon learned that his brilliant victory at Pinkey had only accelerated the evil, 1548. which it was his great object to avert. In an assembly Feb. of the Scottish lords at Stirling, it was resolved to im- 8. pløre the aid of France, their most ancient and faithful ally, to offer the young queen in marriage to the dauphin, and to propose that for greater security she should be educated in the French court. On the other hand Somerset published an address to the Scottish people in F.b. English and Latin, imputing the evils of the war to 5. Arran and his advisers, who the last year had suppressed the favourable offers of the English government. To whom, he asked, would they marry their infant sovereign? To a foreign prince? Their country would become an appendage to a foreign crown. To a native? It would perpetuate the quarrel between England and Scotland. For eight hundred years no opportunity had risen like the present. A young king and a young queen might unite their crowns; Scotland would preserve her laws and liberties; and the two nations would live in peace and harmony under the common name of Britons.

But it was chiefly on the venality of the Scottish nobles that the protector relied for success. There were not many among them whose patriotism was proof against

- the gold of England. They secretly subscribed the articles which he offered; they bound themselves by oath to the service of king Edward: they delivered hostages as security for the faithful performance of their obligations*. Still, when the moment came, they hesitated to commit themselves: and when the lord Wharton and the earl of Lennox invaded the western marches, they
- Feb. successively turned against the invaders, and drove them
18. with considerable loss across the borders. But on the eastern coast the lord Gray de Wilton, at the head of a powerful army, spread the flames of war to the gates of the capital; Dalkeith was reduced to ashes; and Haddington was taken, fortified, and garrisoned with more than two thousand men, partly English and partly Italians. Gray had scarcely begun his retreat, when a
- June hostile squadron anchored at Leith, having on board
16. three thousand German, and two thousand French veterans, commanded by d'Esse, a brave and experienced officer†. Reinforced by Arran and eight thousand Scots, d'Esse sat down before Haddington. Batteries were raised, a breach was made; but sir John Wilford, the governor, defended himself with so much skill and obstinacy, and inflicted so many injuries on the assailants, that the Frenchman, doubtful of the result, which might have proved fatal to his followers, refused to order an assault, and converted the siege into a blockade‡.
- July About the same time the earl of Arran had convened
7. the three estates of the kingdom in the abbey of Haddington. The determination of the lords at Stirling was solemnly ratified; treaties confirmatory of the marriage and alliance were exchanged between d'Oyselles, the French ambassador, and the Scottish governor; and de Breze and Villegaignon, sailing with four galleys in a southern

* See proofs in Mr. Tytler's Hist. vi. 421; and Chron: Catal. 296.

† Henry II. used to say of him: nous sommes quatre gentilshommes, qui combattrons en lice, et courrons la bague contre tous aillans et venans de la France; moy, Sansac, d'Esse, et Chastaigneraye, Brantome, vii. 203. La Haye, 1740.

‡ Leslie, 467. Hayward, 290.

direction, unexpectedly changed their course, steered round the north of Scotland to Dumbarton, received on Aug. board the young queen and her household, and reached 7. in safety the harbour of Brest. From Brest that princess, 13. being in her sixth year, was conducted to St. Germain en Laye, and contracted to her destined husband, the dauphin of France. From this moment the original object of the war, the acquisition of Mary, to make her the wife of the English prince, was at an end. The French monarch, as the representative of his son and daughter, now king and queen of Scotland, required that the English government should abstain from all hostility against the Scots during the minority of the two princes*. Somerset returned a refusal; and, from the purport of his secret negotiations with the earl of Argyle, and the lord Gray, appears to have still cherished the project of expelling the French auxiliaries, and establishing the English authority in Scotland†.

The distress of the garrison at Haddington had been occasionally but scantily relieved by small parties from Berwick; and an attempt was made to throw a more copious supply into the town by sir Thomas Palmer and sir Robert Bowes, at the head of two thousand horse. By the address of the lord Home the convoy was surprised, and the escort taken or slain. To repair this disaster the earl of Shrewsbury crossed the borders with twenty-two thousand men, of whom three or four thousand were German lansquerets. But d'Esse, raising the Aug. blockade, intrenched himself at Musselburg; the earl 20 could not provoke him to a battle, and dared not attack him within his fortifications; and the army returned, after having supplied the garrison with men and provisions, burnt Dunbar, and ravaged the country‡.

From this period the war continued with alternate losses and advantages to both parties; though, on the

* Lesl. 470. Ribier, ii. 152.

† See Fisher's instructions in Chron: Catal. 305. He gave a pension of 2000 crowns to Argyle, and of 1000 to Gray.

‡ Edward's Journ. 5, 6. Holinsh. 994.

whole, the balance of success inclined in favour of Scotland. Haddington was evacuated. The allies recovered the fortresses of Home-castle and Fast-castle; they
 1549. crossed the borders, burnt Ford and twenty villages, and penetrated almost to the walls of Newcastle; they even obtained, after an obstinate and bloody action, possession
 June. of the rock of Inchkeith, on which Cotterel had strongly intrenched himself.

D'Esse was recalled at his own solicitation or that of the Scots*, and left the command to Marshal de Termes, who had lately brought a reinforcement of thirteen hundred men. De Termes imitated the policy of his predecessor; and the English ascendancy gradually yielded, not so much to the power of its adversaries, as to the influence of a series of untoward events, which distracted the attention and exhausted the resources of the government.

The depreciation of the currency during the late reign had been followed by its necessary consequence, a proportionate advance in the price of saleable commodities. The value of land rose with the value of its produce; and the rents of farms had been doubled, in many instances tripled, in the course of a few years. To the working classes this alteration would have made little difference, had their wages been raised in the same ratio. But it so happened that the demand for labour had been lessened; and the price of labour sunk with the demand. Experience had proved to the agriculturist that the growth of wool was more profitable than that of corn: whence tillage was discouraged, that a larger portion of land might be brought into pasturage; and in most counties thousands of labourers were excluded from their accustomed employments. But if scarcity of work generated distress, that distress was augmented by the interested though obvious policy of the landlords. In

* The English writers say the Scots were wearied with his vanity and insolence: Brantome, that he demanded his recall on account of his health. Brant. vii. 211.

former times, particularly on the estates of the monks and clergy, considerable portions of land had been allotted for the common use of the labourers and of the poor inhabitants. But the present proprietors had, by repeated enclosures, added many portions of the wastes and commons to the former extent of their farms, and thus had cut off or narrowed one great source of support to the more indigent classes, and in addition frequently let their lands at an advanced rent to "leasemongers," or middle-men, who on their part oppressed the farmer and cottager, that they might indemnify and benefit themselves*.

Men, under the pressure of distress, are always prepared to arraign the conduct of their governors. The discontented, though unable to comprehend the arguments of controversialists, felt their own misery; they saw that the new proprietors of the church lands paid not the same attention as the old to the wants of the poor: they coupled their own sufferings with the innovations in religion; and complained of that system which had diminished their resources, and now compelled them to practice a worship foreign from their habits and feelings†. The day approached when the use of the old liturgy was to cease, and that of the new to begin; instead of the high mass, its music and its ceremonies, with which they had been familiarized from their infancy, they were to hear what they deemed an inanimate service, a "mere Christmas play‡;" and, as if this additional provocation had goaded them to madness, the common people rose, almost at the same time, in the counties of Wilts, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, Berks, Kent,

* In a proclamation issued the preceding year, the king is made to complain that many villages, in which 100 or 200 people had lived, were entirely destroyed; that one shepherd now dwelt where industrious families dwelt before; and that the realm is wasted by "bringing arable grounds into pasture, and letting houses, whole families, and copyholds to fall down, decay, and be waste." And Hales, the commissioner, in his charge repeats these complaints, observing, that the laws which forbade any man to keep more than 2000 sheep, and commanded the owners of church lands to keep household on the same, and to occupy as much of the demesne lands in tillage as had been occupied twenty years before, were disobeyed: whence he asserts, that the number of the king's subjects had been wonderfully diminished; as appeared by the new books of musters compared with the old, and with the chronicles. Strype, ii. 92. 94.

† Godwin, 93.

‡ Foze, ii. 15.

Gloucester, Somerset, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertford, Leicester, Worcester, and Rutland. In the first of these counties, sir William Herbert put himself at the head of a body of troops, dispersed the insurgents, and executed martial law on the most guilty. In the others tranquillity was restored by the exertions of the resident gentry, and the persuasions of the most moderate among the yeomanry*. It proved, however a deceitful calm, the forerunner of a more dangerous storm. The protector had been alarmed. Without the concurrence of the council, he appointed commissioners to inquire into the grievances of the people, to remove the new enclosures, and to restore the ancient commons. The very intelligence revived the hopes of the discontented: they assembled again in numerous bodies, and proceeded to do themselves justice without the aid of the commissioners. In general, however, as they acted without concert and without leaders, the effervescence subsided of itself; but in the counties of Oxford, of Norfolk, and of Cornwall and Devon, the risings assumed a more dangerous shape; armies were formed which threatened defiance to the government; and, if the insurrections were finally suppressed, it was only with the aid of the foreign troops, the bands of adventurers that had been raised in Italy, Spain, and Germany, to serve in the war against Scotland.

The command in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire was given to the lord Grey, with a body of fifteen hundred regular troops, including Spinola with his Italians. As soon as he had been joined by the gentlemen of the county, he marched against the insurgents, of whom one part fled at his approach, the other was broken at the first charge. Two hundred were made prisoners in the pursuit, and twelve of the ringleaders were delivered to the general, by whose order they expiated their offence on the gallows†.

In Devonshire the new liturgy had been read for the first time in the church of Samford Courtenay on Whit-

* Edward's Journ. 6.

† Ibid. 7.

sunday: the next day the parishioners compelled the clergyman to resume the ancient service. This contravention of the law was the signal of a general insurrection. Humphrey Arundel, the governor of St. Michael's Mount, put himself at its head, and in a few days numbered under his standard ten thousand men.

To oppose the insurgents the lord Russell, lord privy seal, was furnished with a small body of troops, and with three preachers, Gregory, Reynolds, and Coverdale, who received a licence from the king to declare the word of God to the people in such public places as the general should appoint*. But Russell, distrusting the inferiority of his force, and the eloquence of his preachers, resolved to imitate the policy of the duke of Norfolk in the late reign. He offered to negotiate; and the insurgents made fifteen demands, which were afterwards reduced to eight, requiring the restoration of the ancient service, the re-enactment of the statute of the six articles, the introduction of cardinal Pole into the council †, and the re-establishment of two abbeys at least in every county. To the first Cranmer composed a long and elaborate reply: the second was answered by a proclamation in the king's name, refusing every article in a tone of contempt and superiority‡. But Arundel, while he treated, continued his operations, and sate down before Exeter. Without cannon to make a breach, he instructed his followers to set fire to one of the gates: but the inhabitants threw additional fuel into the flames, and, while it burnt, erected a new rampart within. A

June
10.June
23.July
8.

* See the commission in Strype, ii. 163. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was another preacher for the same purpose. He harangued the Norfolk insurgents, and narrowly escaped with his life.

† Evidently on account of the high rank and extensive influence which his family had possessed in the county.

‡ The king's proclamation may be seen in Foxe (ii. 15, 16), the reply of the archbishop has been published by Strype. (Life of Cranmer, App. p. 86.) In the eighth article the Cornish men "refused the English service, because certain of them understood no English." The archbishop replied, that neither did they understand Latin: an evasive answer, for in his remarks on their third request, he had assigned their ignorance of the Latin tongue as a reason why they should not have the mass in Latin.

second attempt to sap the wall was defeated by the vigilance of the besieged, who discovered the mine, and filled it with water. The assailants, however, were not dismayed: by watching the gates they prevented the introduction of provisions: and during a fortnight the inhabitants suffered all the privations of famine.

- In the mean time the council, instead of supplying Russell with troops, had sent him nothing but proclamations. By one a free pardon was granted to all who would submit; by a second, the lands, goods, and chattels of the insurgents were given to any man who could
- July 11. 16. obtain possession; a third ordered the punishment of death to be inflicted by martial law on such persons as attempted to collect any riotous or unlawful assembly; and a fourth urged the commissioners to put down illegal enclosures, and was accompanied with a private admonition, that it was time for them to look to themselves, and to reform their own conduct. At length, on the fortieth day, lord Grey arrived with a reinforcement of German horse and Italian arquebusiers; the insurgents were immediately driven from the city with the loss of nine hundred men; an attempt to rally on Clifton down was followed by a more sanguinary defeat; and a third and last effort to oppose the royal forces at Bridgewater completed their downfall. During the insurrection four thousand men are said to have perished in the field or by the hand of the executioner*.
- Aug. 6. June 10. In Norfolk the first rising was at Aldborough. It ap-

* Edward's Journal, 7. Foxe, 15—17. Holmshed, 1002. Hayward, 295. Strype, ii. 170. Rec. 103—107. During these disturbances, martial law was executed in every part of the kingdom; and often, as we are told, with little attention to justice. Sir Anthony Kyngstone, provost of the western army, distinguished himself by the promptitude of his decisions, and the pleasantry with which he accompanied them. Having dined with the mayor of Bodmin, he asked him if the gallows were sufficiently strong? The mayor replied that he thought so. "Then," said Kyngstone, "go up and try;" and hanged him without further ceremony. On another occasion, having received information against a miller, he proceeded to the mill, and, not finding the master at home, ordered his servant to the gallows, bidding him be content, for it was the best service which he had ever rendered to his master. Speed, 1113. Hayward, 295.

peared in its origin too contemptible to deserve notice : but it formed the nucleus round which the discontented of the neighbouring parishes successively arranged themselves ; and as soon as they amounted to a formidable number, Ket, by trade a tanner, but the lord of three manors in the county, proclaimed himself their leader. He planted his standard on the summit of *July* Moushold hill, near Norwich, erected for himself a throne under a spreading oak, which he called the oak of reformation, and established courts of chancery, king's bench, and common pleas, in imitation of the courts in Westminster Hall. In his proclamations he complained, that the commons were ground to the dust by the oppression of the rich ; and that a new service had been forced on the people in opposition to the conviction of their consciences ; and declared that, if he and his associates had taken up arms, it was for the sole purpose of placing trusty and noble counsellors round the king during his minority, and of removing those, "who confounded things sacred and profane, "and regarded nothing but the enriching of themselves with the public treasure, that they might riot in "it during the public calamity"* . Obeyed by twenty thousand men, he treated the offer of a pardon with scorn ; and when the marquess of Northampton had entered Norwich with one thousand English horse, and a body of Italians under Malatesta, he attacked the city, set one part of it on fire, killed the lord Sheffield and one hundred men, and compelled the marquess and his followers to retire out of the county. The council was alarmed and embarrassed ; troops were recalled from the army in Scotland ; the gentlemen of the neighbouring counties were ordered by proclamation to join the royal forces ; and the command was given first to the protector, and afterwards to the earl of Warwick. That nobleman, with eight thousand men, of whom two thou-

sand were German horse, forced his way into Norwich, yet so incessant were the insurgents in their attacks, so lavish were they of life, that they often drove the gunners from the batteries, burst open the gates, and fought with the royalists in the streets. The earl commanded his followers to swear on their swords that they would never abandon the place; and by his perseverance was at last enabled to attain his object, of removing the enemy from their advantageous position. Compelled by want of provisions, Ket descended from the hill: in Dussingdale he was overtaken by the royal army, his
 Aug. 27. followers were broken by the charge of a large body of regular cavalry, and about two thousand men perished in the action and the pursuit. The remainder, however, surrounded themselves with a rampart of waggons, and a trench fortified with stakes; and to an offer of pardon replied, that they knew the fate which awaited them, and that it was better to perish by the sword than by the halter. The earl, still apprehensive of the result, spoke to them himself: at his solicitation they accepted a general pardon; and the severity of the law was confined to the execution of Ket on Norwich castle, of his brother on the steeple of Windham, and of nine others on the nine branches of the oak of Reformation*. It is to these events that we owe the institution of the lords lieutenants of counties, who were now appointed to inquire of treason, misprision of treason, insurrections and riots, with authority to levy men, and lead them against the enemies of the king†.

* Edward's Journal, 7, 8. Strype, ii. Rec. 107. Foxe, 17. Godwin, 94. Holinshed, 1035. 1039. Hayward, 299.

† Strype, ii. 178. At this time, July 2nd, the king by proclamation fixed the prices of cattle. I shall extract a few instances.

	From July to November.	November to Christmas.	Christmas to Shrove-tide
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
A fat ox of largest bone . .	2 5 0	2 6 8	2 8 4
A steer or runt, ditto . . .	1 5 0	1 6 8	1 8 4
A heifer, ditto	1 2 0	1 3 0	
A fat sheep, large of bone, 4s. till Michaelmas, afterwards 4s 4d. See Strype, ii. 151.			

So many insurrections succeeding and strengthening each other had shaken the power of the protector: his fall was accelerated by the hostile determination of the king of France. From the moment that Mary of Scotland had reached St. Germain's, Somerset had proposed to make peace with the Scots, to surrender Boulogne to Henry for a sum of money, and to unite with that monarch in the support of the protestant interest in Germany against the overwhelming superiority of the emperor. But he yielded against his own conviction to the majority of the council, who pronounced the surrender of Boulogne a measure calculated to cover the king's government with disgrace. Let them rather intrust that fortress to the protection of the emperor, and offer the crown of Scotland to the ambition of Arran; France would then cease to threaten England with war, and Edward might have leisure to improve his resources, and provide against future contingencies*. But the emperor refused to act against the faith of his treaty with Henry; and that prince, encouraged by the insurrections in England, sent to Edward a declaration of war. Immediately the French troops poured into the Boulougnois. Sellacques was taken by storm; Ambleteuse surrendered after a siege of some days; the garrison of Blackness capitulated at the first summons; and Montalambert was evacuated before the arrival of the enemy†. Boulogne indeed defied the efforts of the French, who were deterred by the approach of winter from forming a regular siege: but there was little doubt that at the return of spring it would fall, unless a numerous army could be collected for its relief. All these disasters were attributed to the misconduct of the protector‡.

* Burnet, ii. 130, 131.

† See the particulars of the campaign in the memoirs of Vieilleville, xxix. 190—202; and the *Lettres et Mémoires d'état* de Ribier, ii. 217, 240, 241, 245.

‡ Godwin, 95. Nothing was more felt than the want of money. It was calculated that the insurrections had cost the king 28,000*l.* All the war-charges of the year including fortifications, amounted to 1,356,000*l.* Strype, ii. 178.

1. That nobleman had sealed his own doom on the day on which he signed the warrant for the execution of his brother; a warrant that disclosed to his colleagues in the council the fate which they might expect from his vengeance, if they should afterwards incur the suspicion of being his enemies. The natural consequence was that they began to commune with each other, and to forecast the most likely means of eschewing the danger. Somerset, on the other hand, grew every day more positive and despotic: he would not allow his pleasure or opinion to be called in question: if any man in the council ventured to hint doubt or disapprobation, he was either heard with silent scorn, or was silenced at once with the most passionate expressions. The impolicy of such conduct was represented to the protector by his friend, sir William Paget, in an expostulatory letter. "Howsoever," he writes, "it cometh to pass, I cannot tell; but of late your grace is grown in great choleric fashions, whensoever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head. . . . A subject in great authority, as your grace is, using such fashion, is like to fall into great danger and peril of his own person, besides that to the commonwealth*." It is unnecessary to add, that this prophetic warning was treated with contempt.

2. His conduct in another respect, as it was more open to the public, was universally condemned. His very friends could offer no apology for his rapacity. Of a simple knight with a slender fortune, he had become, by grants from the crown, — some, indeed, under the late king, but most since his elevation to the protectorship, and therefore of his own dictation, — the possessor of more than two hundred manors, parcels of land, and hereditaments, situate in different parts of the kingdom, but principally in the counties of Wilts and Devon †. On the other hand, that magnificent

* Letter of 8th of May, 1549, in Strype, *il. Rec.* i. 108.

† See grants to him *Imo Edwardi*, in Strype, *il.* 308; also the *Inspeximus*

pile of building, which still retains from him the name of Somerset-house, was a standing memorial of his vanity and extravagance. It was said, that to procure a convenient site for this structure, he had demolished the parish church of St. Mary's, and compelled the bishops of Worcester, Lichfield, and Llandaff, to convey to him the episcopal mansions belonging to their respective sees ; that to furnish materials he had pulled down several chapels and religious edifices ; and that, at a time when the kingdom, through the poverty of the exchequer, was left almost without a soldier for its defence, he could afford to spend the daily sum of one hundred pounds in unnecessary buildings. This insatiate accumulation of wealth, joined with so much vanity, and the recklessness with which he sought to gratify it, could not fail to detract from the popularity which he had previously enjoyed.

3. But that which gave the rudest shock to his power was his wavering and doubtful policy during the late commotions. By his proclamations and commissions for the putting down of inclosures he had appeared to give the sanction of his authority to the demands of the commons. When they were actually in arms against the royal authority he had always lent an indulgent ear to their petitions ; and after their defeat he had repeatedly sought to screen them from the vengeance of the conquerors. By this he had earned for himself among them the title of "the good duke," but had awakened a spirit of jealousy and mistrust among the landholders, and all those who had reason to fear for their possessions from the turbulent and disaffected temper of the commons. The conduct of the earl of Warwick had been the very reverse. His policy was to suppress by force and intimidation ; and the vigour with which he had acted against the insurgents of Norfolk, with

by Queen Elizabeth, June 2, 1572, of grants made to him by Edward. The names of more than two hundred manors and parcels of land in the counties of Wilts and Devon, and of twenty more in other shires, are recited in the schedule of the lands restored to him after his submission in 1550.

the severe punishment which he had inflicted on their leaders, had made him the idol of the higher classes, who began to look up to him for the preservation of their rights and properties. He was now on his return from Norfolk, crowned with the laurels of victory, and welcomed with the acclamations of his admirers. In the neighbourhood of London several lords and councillors joined him with their retainers in arms and new liveries, and the whole cavalcade proceeded in martial array through the city to his house at Ely place. The protector, who, with the archbishop, Paget, and Petre and Smith, the two secretaries, was in attendance on the king at Hampton court, taking this hostile display for a declaration of war, called by proclamation in the king's name on all faithful subjects to repair to

Oct.

1. Hampton court in defensible array, for the protection of the royal person against a most dangerous conspiracy; while his opponents, by circular letters published on the same day, forbade obedience to his orders, and accused him of having neglected to pay the forces, or to provision the king's fortresses; of spending the public money in extravagant erections; of fomenting divisions between the higher and the lower classes in the nation; of seeking the destruction of the nobility, and of intending ultimately to substitute himself in the place of the young sovereign*.

For some days the war was carried on between the two parties with proclamations, placards, handbills, and demands of military aid from the city; but the advantage was plainly on the part of Warwick, who not only received from the lord mayor and aldermen promises of co-operation, but, to the surprise and dismay of his opponents, gained by threats or promises possession of the Tower. The duke by his summons had drawn multitudes of the common people into the neighbourhood of Hampton court. One day, holding Edward by the hand, he addressed them from the gate

Oct.

6.

* Mr. Tytler, with his usual industry, has discovered several of these proclamations and handbills in the State Paper office. See them in his *Edward and Mary*, I. p. 205—211.

of the base-court, in a long speech, in which he praised their loyalty, and inveighed against the treasonous designs of Warwick and Warwick's adherents. But a few hours later, in the dead of the night, with five hundred armed men, he conveyed the young king from Hampton court to Windsor castle, the custody of which he intrusted to his own retainers.

On the preceding day he had sent sir William Petre to Ely place with certain proposals. Petre (whether willingly or by compulsion is unknown) remained with his colleagues, who sent back an answer, requiring the protector to submit Oct. unconditionally, and "to be content to be ordered accord- 7. ing to justice and reason;" words of ominous import, especially to one who could not forget in what manner he had not long ago *ordered* his own brother in almost similar circumstances*.

At Windsor he found little to give him confidence. Scarcely a gentleman had obeyed the summons to meet him there. The commons, indeed, in Hampshire and Wiltshire had begun to rise, and their demagogues talked of marching to the aid of the good duke; but all such projects were suddenly checked by the arrival at Wilton and Andover of the lord Russell and sir William Herbert with part of the army which had been doing execution on the insurgents in Devonshire. These leaders made no secret of their adherence to the council in London, and from that moment the cause of the protector became desperate. That he might disarm the hostility of Warwick, he wrote to that nobleman, reminding him of their friendship from the time of their youth; and, to provide for his own safety, he protested before the king that he had no design to injure his

* See this letter in Ellis, 2nd series, i. p. 166. The date, the 7th of October, is of importance, as it shows that Somerset had begun to despond, and the council had assumed a decided superiority, before either the one or the other could have received the letters from lord Russell and sir William Herbert, to which those events have been attributed. The letter from the council was written on the 7th, their letters from Andover and Wilton on the 8th and 9th of October.

opponents, but was willing to submit the quarrel between him and them to four arbitrators, two to be chosen by each party. This offer was communicated to the lords in a letter from the king, who required them "to bring these up-
 "roars to a quiet," and put them in mind that, whatever offences the protector might have committed, it was still in the power of the sovereign to grant him a pardon. Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, wrote to them at the same time, recommending forbearance, and stating that if, as was reported, they sought the life of the duke, it was but reasonable that, before he resigned his office, he should know on what conditions that resignation was expected *. But Warwick and his friends, in the pride of victory, would listen to no compromise. In a proclamation, consisting of eight articles, and signed by every councillor at Ely place, they publicly charged the duke with divers high crimes and misdemeanors, and through the influence of the lord mayor

- Oct. and sheriffs obtained from the citizens an aid of five hun-
 8. dred armed men. In answer to the proposals from Hampton court, they insisted on an unconditional surrender †. In their reply to Edward they accused the protector of arbitrary and tyrannical abuse of his authority; and in their letter to Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, they forewarned these councillors of the peril to which they had already exposed themselves by delivering the king into the hands of armed men, not his sworn servants; it is moreover said, but on the credit of a very questionable document, that sir Philip Hoby, the bearer of their letters, made to the duke, on their part, the most flattering promises for the express purpose of deceiving him, and inducing him to submit ‡. However that may be, the archbishop and Paget deemed it their in-

* Stowe, 598. Burnet, iv. 298. Tytler, i. 223.

† Burnet, iv. 299, 300. Ellis, 2nd series, ii. 175.

‡ See it in Tytler, i. 238. My suspicion is, that this story respecting the deception attributed to Hoby was invented afterwards by the friends of Somerset, to extenuate the pusillanimity of his submission. Nor am I able to discover the menacing allusion to the *verbal* message on which Mr. Tytler insists, p. 236.

terest to transfer their services to the more powerful party, and with much labour prevailed on Somerset and his friends Oct. to disarm their followers, to restore the custody of the king 10. with that of the castle to the royal guards, and to place themselves without reserve at the mercy of their adversaries *. The next day, in consequence of a hint from Pa- 11. get, sir Anthony Wingfield, the vice-chamberlain, arrived with a numerous escort to secure the person of the duke. Warwick and his friends followed, and were received by Edward with demonstrations of pleasure, which showed that he was not unwilling to be emancipated from the control of his uncle. The Sunday passed ; and on Monday 14. morning the protector was deprived of his office in due form by a writ under the great seal, and with the sign manual of the king. He was then subjected to a searching examination before the council, and committed a prisoner to the care of the earls of Huntingdon and Southampton, who with a body of three hundred horse conducted him to the metropolis. The civic authorities had already been summoned to keep watch in every ward ; and Somerset, riding between the two earls, proceeded slowly through Holborn to his prison in the Tower. Five of his confidential advisers were incarcerated with him †.

The confinement of Somerset filled the reformers with the most gloomy apprehensions. It was not improbable that the policy or the resentment of Warwick might induce him to send their patron to the scaffold, and to restore the ascendancy of the ancient faith. But, whatever might be his real feelings, the earl deemed it more prudent to confirm his control over the mind, by indulging the wishes, of the young king, his repugnance to shed the blood of a second uncle, and his prejudices

* See the letter in Ellis (2nd series, ii. 171), misdescribed as an offer of terms of accommodation. It contains no such offer, but states with great satisfaction that "all things are well acquieted" by the submission of Somerset and his party.

† Stowe, 600.

against the doctrine and the worship of his fathers. Parliament had been prorogued to the beginning of
 Nov. November. When it assembled, Warwick seldom at-
 4 tended in his place, and affected to leave the members to the unbiassed exercise of their own judgment. Their first care was to prevent the return of the disgraceful and dangerous occurrences of the last year; and a bill was passed, making it felony for any persons to assemble to the number of twelve or more for the purpose of abating the rents of farms or the price of provisions, or of destroying houses or parks, or of asserting a right to ways or commons, if they continued together one hour after they had been warned to disperse by proclamation from a magistrate, sheriff, or bailiff; and raising the offence to high treason, when the object of the meeting should be to alter the laws, or to kill or to imprison any member of the king's council*. At Christmas, to extinguish the hopes of those who still adhered to the ancient faith, a circular letter was sent to the clergy, informing them of the king's intention to proceed with the reformation; and commanding them to deliver up all books containing any portion of the former service, that they might be burnt or destroyed. But this proclamation did not satisfy the expectations of the more zealous among the gospellers, and an act was soon afterwards passed, subjecting every individual, either clerk or layman, who should keep in his possession any such book, to a fine for the first and second offence, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure for the third†. Moreover, as the church of England now possessed a new order of common prayer and administration of the sacraments, it was deemed proper that its ministers should be ordained after a new form; and it was enacted, that six prelates and six other persons learned in God's law should be

* St. of Realm, iv. 104.

† Ibid. 110. The earl of Derby, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Lichfield and Coventry, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster, and the lords Morley, Stourton, Wyndsoer and Wharton, voted against it. Journals, 384.

appointed by the king, to compose a manner of making and consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons; and that such manner, being set forth under the great seal before the first of April, should afterwards be lawfully used and exercised, and none other*. In the upper house some of the prelates drew a frightful picture of the national morals, and attributed the universal prevalence of vice to the manner in which the exercise of their jurisdiction had been suspended or enervated by successive acts of parliament and proclamations of the council. At their common solicitation leave was given to introduce a bill to restore to the episcopal courts a portion of their former authority. But its provisions were deemed to trench both on the powers now exercised by the crown, and on the liberties of the subject; the earl of Warwick attended in his place to oppose it, and on the first reading it was rejected without a division.

In the mean time the council was repeatedly occupied with the fate of the noble prisoner in the Tower. The articles prepared against him might be divided into three classes, charging him with obstinacy, incapacity, and bad faith during the late insurrection, with negligence in permitting the fortresses near Boulogne to fall into the hands of the French, and with presumption in rejecting the advice of the council, though he had been raised to the protectorship on the express condition that he should never act without its assent†. At length an intimation was given to him, that, if he hoped for pardon, he must submit to a frank and unqualified acknowledgment of his guilt. The condition, though Dec. 23.
painful to his feelings, was gratefully accepted. On his knees he confessed his presumption, negligence, and incapacity, subscribed the twenty-nine charges against him, and earnestly implored for mercy. Life was pro-

* St. of Realm, 112. It was opposed by the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster. Journals, 384.

† That the last charge was so far true, may be presumed from the letters of advice previously written by Paget to Somerset, on May 8 and July 7. apud Strype, ii. Rec. 107—114.

mised: but on condition that he should forfeit all his offices, his goods and chattels, and a portion of his lands to the yearly value of two thousand pounds. When, however, a bill of pains and penalties was introduced for this purpose, some of the peers ventured to make an objection, which no man would have dared to suggest during the last reign. They observed that by their precipitancy in such cases precedents might be established the most dangerous to the life and liberties of the subject; that before the house could ground any proceedings on the confession of Somerset, it was its duty to ascertain the motives which had induced him to sign it; and that a deputation ought to be appointed with power to interrogate him in the Tower. To this the ministers assented: the deputation on its return reported, that he had made the confession of his own free will, and to exonerate his conscience; and the bill, having passed through both houses without further opposition, received the royal assent. Somerset, however, had the courage to remonstrate against the severity of his punishment; and, in order to extenuate his offences, appealed to the testimony of his conscience, and the uprightness of his intentions. But the council replied with harshness and warmth; the reprimand humbled him to the dust; and he signed a second and still more abject submission; in which he disclaimed all idea of justifying his conduct, threw himself without reserve on the mercy of his sovereign, and expressed his gratitude to the king and the council, that they had been content with a fine, when they might have justly taken his life. Having given security for the payment of a heavy fine, he was discharged from the Tower, and received a pardon, in the most ample form that legal ingenuity could devise, but with the exception of his debts to the king*. His friends, who had been imprisoned, recovered their liberty, but submitted to heavy fines; and, as if it had been resolved to execute justice with the strictest impartiality, the earl of Arundel and sir Richard Southwell, who had been among the most active of his

* Lords' Journals, 374, 375. Rym. xv. 205.

opponents, were severally mulcted for different offences, the first in the sum of twelve thousand, the other in that of five hundred pounds. This revolution was concluded as usual by rewards to the principal actors in it. The earl of Warwick obtained the offices of great master and lord high admiral, the marquess of Northampton that of great chamberlain, and the lords Russell and St. John, created earls of Bedford and Wiltshire, were appointed lord privy seal and lord treasurer. At the same time the earls of Arundel and Southampton, the supposed confidants of Warwick, were removed from the council: the former suffered a short confinement in his own house; the latter, after a lingering illness, died before the end of summer*.

While Warwick and his friends were thus employed in humbling the power of Somerset, they were harassed with apprehensions of the French war; and, notwithstanding the blame which they had thrown on the late protector, were compelled to adopt his measures, and to submit to the surrender of Boulogne. The French had interrupted the communication between that city and Calais; nor was the earl of Huntingdon able to re-open it, though he had taken with him all the bands of mercenaries, and three thousand English veterans. The treasury was exhausted: the garrison suffered from want of provisions; and the enemy eagerly expected the return of spring to commence more active operations. A proposal was again made to the emperor to take Boulogne into his custody; this was followed by an offer to cede it to him in full sovereignty, on condition that it should never be restored to the crown of France. Both were refused; and, as a last resource, Antonio Guidotti,

* Stowe, 603. Rym. xv. 194. 203. 208. Strype, ii. 195.

† From the report of the senator, Barbaro, to the senate of Venice (communicated by H. Howard, of Corby, esq.), it appears that the king's income greatly exceeded his ordinary expenditure in time of peace, the former being about 350,000*l.*, and the latter about 225,000*l.* But the war in Scotland for three years had plunged him deeply in debt; and we find him constantly sending messengers to Antwerp to borrow money for short periods at high rates of interest. See Strype, ii. 309. 312. 3 3. 323.

a merchant of Florence, was employed to hint to the French ministers that the English cabinet was not adverse to a peace*. With the aid of this unaccredited agent a secret understanding was established; ambassadors were then named; and the conferences were opened. But the French, sensible of their superiority, dictated the conditions. To the proposal, that, as an equivalent for the surrender of Boulogne, Mary of Scotland should be contracted to Edward, they answered that Henry had already determined to marry her to his own son, the dauphin; and when it was demanded that at least the perpetual pension from France should be confirmed, and the arrears discharged, they indignantly replied, that their king would never condescend to pay tribute to a foreign crown; that Henry VIII. had availed himself of the accidental necessities of Francis to extort a pension from him; and that they with equal right would avail themselves of the present distress of the king of England to make him renounce it†. The English ambassadors assumed a tone equally haughty and repulsive: they even threatened to terminate the discussions; but their actions did not correspond with their words; each day they receded from some or other of their demands; and at length they subscribed to the terms imposed by their adversaries. The treaty was prefaced by a long and fulsome panegyric of the two kings; Henry and Edward were the best of princes, the two great luminaries of the christian world; personally they had no causes of enmity against each other; and if their fathers had been divided, the relics of that hostility they were determined to suppress for ever. With this view they had agreed, 1°. that there should be

* The English writers attribute the first employment of Guidotti to the French ministry, the French to the English. "Les Anglois, lassez de la guerre, &c., m'ayant fait rechercher d'envoyer mes deputiz." Henry apud Ribeyr, ii. 237. It is probable that it was so, for in reward of his services Guidotti obtained from Edward a pension for life of 250*l.* per annum for himself, and of 35*l.* 10*s.* for his son. Rym. xv. 227. He was also knighted, and received a *douceur* of 250*l.* King Edward's Journal, 11.

† See the letter of Paget, apud Strype, ii. Rec. p. 114.

between the two crowns a peace, league, and union, which should last not only for their lives, but as long as time should endure; 2°. that Boulogne should be restored to the king of France, with the ordnance and stores which were found in it at the time of its capture; that in return for the monies already spent on the fortifications Henry should pay to Edward two hundred thousand crowns at the time of its delivery, and two hundred thousand more within five months; on condition that the English should previously surrender Dunglass and Lauder to the queen of Scots, or, if Dunglass and Lauder were not in their possession, should raze to the ground the fortresses of Roxburgh and Aymouth; 3°. that Scotland should be comprehended in this treaty, if the queen signified her acceptance of it within forty days; and that Edward should not hereafter make war upon her or her subjects, unless some new cause of offence was given; and lastly, that all the rights, claims, and pretensions of England against France and Scotland, or of France and Scotland against England, should be mutually reserved*. Though Warwick had signed the instructions to the ambassadors, he absented himself under pretence of sickness from the council on the day on which the treaty was confirmed. By the public the conditions were considered a national disgrace. The sum of two millions of crowns, which Francis had consented to give for the surrender of Boulogne at the expiration of eight years, had been cut down to one-fifth; the right of enforcing the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary of Scotland had been abandoned; and the perpetual pension, which Henry VIII. had accepted in lieu of his claim to the crown of France, had been virtually surrendered. In fact the pretensions of the former kings of England were after this treaty suffered to sleep in silence by their successors. They contented themselves with the sole title

* Rym. xv. 211. 217. The queen regent of Scotland signified her assent in due form. Chron. Cat. 327.

of kings of France, a barren but invidious distinction, which after two centuries and a half was wisely laid aside by the grandfather of her present majesty.

Though the partisans of the new doctrines could depend with confidence on the support of the crown, the late commotions had proved to them that the reformation still rested on a very insecure foundation. Eleventwelfths of the nation retained a strong attachment to the creed of their fathers*; the order for the introduction of the new liturgy had been reluctantly and negligently obeyed; the clergy, for the most part hostile to the cause, sought only to evade the penalties threatened by the statute; and the nobility and gentry were believed to dissemble their real sentiments, that they might earn the favour, or escape the displeasure, of the court. In these circumstances the archbishop proposed to purge the church of those prelates whose disaffection was the most notorious; and to supply their places with men of approved zeal and orthodox principles. The first on whom the experiment was hazarded was Bonner, bishop of London, whose apathy had long been the subject of

1549. complaint, but whose caution had preserved him from
 Aug. any open violation of the law. He was summoned before
 9. the council, received a severe reprimand, and was ordered to perform the new service at St. Paul's on every festival on which he and his predecessors had been accustomed to celebrate the high mass; to proceed in his court against all reputed adulterers, and such persons as absented themselves from the English liturgy, or refused to communicate according to the parliamentary form; and that he should preach at St. Paul's cross on the first of September, and afterwards once every three months, and should be present at every other sermon which should

* This is acknowledged in a confidential letter from Paget to the protector, written July 7, 1549. "The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law: and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven or [of] twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth." Apud Strype, ii. Rec. 110.

be made there. The subject for his own discourse was given him in writing, and divided into three parts. He was to show, 1°. that “the rebels in Devonshire, Cornwall, and Norfolk, did not only deserve death as traitors, “but accumulated to themselves eternal damnation, even “to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the “father and first author of rebellion;” 2°. that in religion, God regards the internal disposition of the heart; that the regulation of the external service belongs to the supreme magistrate; that to disobey him is to disobey the command of God; and that of course to assist at the mass, which had been prohibited by royal authority, was not to please, but to offend the Almighty; and 3°. that the right and power of the king in his tender years was not less than it had been in his predecessors, or would be in himself at a more advanced age.

At the appointed day crowds assembled to hear the prelate; many from curiosity, some for the purpose of censure. In his sermon, Bonner, whether it was from accident or design, omitted the last part; the omission was observed and denounced to the council by Latimer and Hooper, two reformed preachers; and Cranmer and Ridley, with Petre and Smith, the king’s secretaries, and May, dean of St. Paul’s, were appointed to try and punish the refractory prelate. Bonner appeared before his judges, with the undaunted air of a man who feels conscious that he suffers in a just cause. He had, he told them, “three things, a few goods, a poor carcass, “and a soul: the two first were at their disposal, but “the last was at his own.” He objected to his accusers that they were notorious heretics; excepted against Smith as his known enemy; and, in a tone of pity and contempt, twitted the archbishop with his subserviency to men in power, and the inconstancy of his religious sentiments. Being compelled to answer upon oath the questions which were put to him, he acknowledged the omission, but attributed it to the imperfection of his me-

Sept.
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memory, the loss of his notes, and the interruption caused by an unexpected order which he received, to announce from the pulpit a victory gained over the insurgents. He contended, however, that he had compensated for this involuntary error, by the eagerness with which he had declaimed against the rebels; and avowed his conviction that his real crime, though carefully kept out of sight, consisted in the freedom with which he had explained the catholic and established doctrine respecting the sacrament of the altar. It was in vain that he protested against the authority of the court, or that he appealed from it to the equity of the king. The archbishop pronounced the sentence of deprivation; and Bonner was remanded to the Marshalsea, where he remained a prisoner till the king's death*. To most men the sentence appeared an act of unwarrantable severity: his subsequent confinement, before he had given any new cause of offence, was certainly repugnant to law and justice.

Oct 4. 1550. Ridley, one of his judges, succeeded him in the see of London, but on conditions which seemed to stamp a still more unfavourable character on the whole proceeding. The bishopric of Westminster was dissolved by royal authority; Ridley accepted its lands and revenues, in exchange for the lands and revenues belonging to his own church; and these, four days later, were divided among three of the principal lords at court, Rich, lord chancellor; Wentworth, lord chamberlain; and sir Thomas Darcy, vice-chamberlain †.

The deprivation of Bonner would, it was hoped, intimidate and subdue the constancy of Gardiner, who had now been for two years a prisoner in the Tower, without

* Foxe, ii. 20—42. Burnet ii. 191—127. State Trials, i. 631. The sentence for his imprisonment was that "the commissioners now perceived "more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was a "greater rebellion than he was aware of." Foxe, 41.

† Strype, ii. 217, 218. The yearly value of the lands resigned by Ridley was 480*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, of those which he received in exchange, 526*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*, but out of them the king reserved rents to the amount of 100*l.* Ibid.

being able to obtain a trial, or even a copy of the charges against him*. He was visited by a deputation from July the council, and urged to subscribe a written form of 9. submission. To those parts of it which approved the book of common prayer, and acknowledged in the king the powers with which the statute had invested him as the head of the church, he did not object; but no consideration could induce him to confess that he had offended, or to solicit the forgiveness of his sovereign. A second attempt was made: but, if on this 14. occasion the form of submission was softened down, articles were added equally repugnant to the opinions and feelings of the bishop. He was required to approve of the dissolution of monasteries, and the secularization of ecclesiastical property, of the homilies of archbishop Cranmer, and the paraphrase of Erasmus, and of every religious innovation which had been established by act of parliament or by order of the council. Gardiner replied, that he asked for no favour; he sought only a legal trial; he was willing to stand or fall by the law. To talk to him of subscriptions in prison was unfair. Let them discharge him as an innocent man, and he would then do whatever his duty required; but were he to subscribe in the Tower, it would be said that he had sacrificed his conscience to purchase his liberty. He 19 was next brought before the council; the articles were read in his presence; and he was asked whether he was willing to subscribe as his majesty had commanded? He replied, that "in all things that his majesty could lawfully command, he was most ready to obey: but forasmuch as there were divers things required of him, that his conscience would not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excused." Sentence was immediately pronounced by secretary Petre, that his revenue should be sequestrated from that day, and that,

* "Considerynge," says the council book, "the longe imprisonment that the bishope of Winchester hath sustayned (since June 29th, 1548), it was now thought time he should be spokene withall." The king's book of proceedings was sent to him, to which he replied, that "he could make no direct answer, unless he were at libertie; and so beinge, he would saye his conscience," fol. 99.

- if he did not submit within three months, reckoning each month for a canonical monition, he should be deprived of his bishopric. At length a commission was
- Dec. 14. issued to the metropolitan, three bishops, and six laymen, to proceed against him for contempt: but he defended himself with ability and perseverance; protested against some of the judges and of the evidence, as accomplices in a conspiracy against him, which originated about the close of the last reign, and had been continued to that day; and brought so many witnesses to prove
1551. his allegations, that, to prevent unpleasant disclosures, Feb. Cranmer on the twenty-second day cut short the proceedings, pronouncing him contumacious, and adjudging him to be deprived of his bishopric*. By order of the council, he was sent back to a meaner cell in the
15. Tower, with instructions that no man should see him but one of the warders; that all his books and papers should be taken from him and examined; and that he should be refused the use of pen, ink, and paper†.
- Mar. 8. Poynt, bishop of Rochester, succeeded him at Winchester; but on conditions similar to those to which Ridley had consented on his translation to London. The new prelate surrendered to the crown all the revenues of that wealthy bishopric, and received in return rectories and lands to the yearly value of two thousand marks. A large portion of the spoil was reserved for the friends of the earl of Warwick; sir Thomas Wroth was gratified with a pension for life of one hundred pounds; and Gates, Hobe, Seymour, Dudley, Nevil, and Fitzwilliams obtained still more valuable grants of lordships and manors, for themselves and their heirs for ever‡.

There were two other prelates prisoners in the Tower, Heath bishop of Worcester, and Day bishop of Chichester, both distinguished by their learning, their mo-

* Compare Foxe (ii. 74—85) and Burnet (ii. 150. 165) with the council book, Harl. MSS. 352, and the extracts published by Mr. Ellis, in the *Archæologia*, xviii. 135—146. 150—152; or *State Trials*, i. 551.

† The chief reason assigned for this severity was that “on the daye of his judgment given againste him, he called his judges heretiques and sacramentarys, they beinge there the kinges commissioneres, and of his highnes counsell.” Council book, fol. 152.

‡ Strype, ii. 274.

deration, and their attachment to the ancient creed. Heath, though he had voted against the bill for a new ordinal, was named one of the commissioners; probably for the purpose of procuring matter of complaint against him. He disapproved of the form devised by his eleven Feb. colleagues; and on his refusal to subscribe it, was com- 8. mitted to the Fleet for contempt. After an imprisonment Mar. of eighteen months, he was called again before the coun- 4. Sept. and commanded to subscribe under pain of deprivation 22. in four days; but "he resolutely answered he could not "fynde in his consyence to do it; and so, as a man in- "corrigible, he was returned to the Fleete*." The bishopric was given to Hooper, and Heath remained till the king's death in prison. Day had offended in a different point. As the ancient liturgy had been commuted for the communion service, the sacrifice of the mass for the supper of the Lord, it was proposed to substitute in the churches tables in the place of the altars, which, with their plate, and jewels, and decorations, would supply a new harvest to the rapacity of the royal favourites†. The attempt was first made by a few unauthorized individuals; it was followed by an experiment on a larger scale in the diocese of London, under the protection of bishop Ridley; and at last the council, alleging the danger of dissension, issued a general injunction to the Nov. bishops to remove the altars in their respective dioceses †. 24. Day replied that his conscience would not permit him to 30.

* Council book, fol. 200. Burnet, ii. 143. This ordinal gave rise to a fierce and acrimonious controversy between the two parties; the one maintaining that though it omitted a number of ceremonies, the inventions of later ages, it had preserved whatever according to Scripture was necessary for the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons; the other, that it had been compiled chiefly by men, who considered ordination as an unnecessary rite (see vol. vi. p. 318 note); and on that account had carefully omitted what was requisite to impart the sacerdotal character, and that it made no material distinction between the office of priest and bishop. Under Mary the statute authorizing the ordinal was repealed, and the ordinations made in conformity with it were reputed invalid: under Elizabeth it was re-enacted; and one or two improvements were added to meet some of the principal difficulties. In its favour, see *Mason de Ministerio Anglicano*, l. ii. c. 15, 16, 17: the chief arguments against it have been collected by Dodd, *Hist. ii.* 278—290.

† Heylin, 95.

‡ Wilk. Conc. iv. 65.

obey; and though he was allowed four days to deliberate, though Cranmer and Ridley were commissioned to instruct and convert him, he still answered, that he
 Dec. 7 "thought it a less evil to suffer the body to perish, than
 "to corrupt the soul with that his conscience would not
 "bear." He was committed for this contempt to the
 1551. Fleet*; a court of delegates the next year deprived him
 Oct. and Heath of their bishoprics†; and both, notwithstanding this punishment, were kept in custody till the
 1. commencement of the next reign‡.

There still remained one individual whose conversion in the estimation of the reformers would have balanced the opposition of a whole host of bishops, the lady Mary, the sister of Edward, and the presumptive heir to the crown. She had embraced the first opportunity of expressing to the protector her dislike of further innovation, and her wish that religion might, during the minority of the king, be preserved in the same state in which it had been left by her royal father: but Somerset replied, that his object was to accomplish the real intentions of Henry, who on his death-bed had deeply regretted that he could not live to complete the reformation. The statute of uniformity for worship quickly supplied him with the power of putting her constancy to the test. Its framers appear to have taken for their model the intolerance of the German reformers. Not only did they introduce the new liturgy into the national churches and chapels, but, as the reader will remember,

* Council Book, f. 140, 141.

† Great attempts were previously made to prevail on them to conform. But Heath told the council that "of other mynde he thought never to be, adding that there be many other thinges whereunto he would not consent, yf he were demaunded, as to take down alteres, and set up tables." He was then threatened with deprivation, if he did not submit within two days: but he replied, "that he could not fynde in his conscience to do it, and should be well contente to abyde such ende either by deprivacon or otherwise as pleased the kinge's matie." Ibid. f. 200.

‡ Day, after two years' imprisonment, petitioned for his discharge, on the ground that deprivation was sufficient punishment for a conscientious dissent from an injunction: but added, that if this indulgence "were to be bought at the hazard of his conscience, he thought it better to want it than to purchase so poor a commodity at so dear a rate." His petition was refused. Strype, ii. 391.

they had invaded the secrecy of the closet; and enacted severe penalties against every priest who should celebrate, every lay man or woman who should attend where a priest celebrated mass, even in a private house. Mary received an admonition that she must conform to the provisions of the statute. She replied that she ^{1549.} did not consider it binding in conscience; reminded the ^{June} lords that they had sworn to observe the laws respecting ^{22.} religion which had been established by her father; hinted that they could not with decency refuse so small an indulgence as liberty of worship to the daughter of him who raised *them* from nothing to their present rank and authority; and at last appealed from their intolerance to the powerful protection of her cousin the emperor. It chanced to be the very time when the English cabinet solicited the aid of that prince for the preservation of Boulogne. After a short debate, policy prevailed over fanaticism; and at the imperial intercession the indulgence which Mary prayed for was reluctantly granted. But, after the conclusion of peace with France, the friendship of Charles appeared of less importance, and she was repeatedly harassed with messages from the council, and with letters from her brother. The young king maintained that he possessed as great authority in religious matters as had been possessed by his father; and declared that his love of God, and his affection for his sister, forbade him to tolerate her obstinacy: still he preferred mildness to severity, and was willing to supply her with teachers who might instruct her ignorance, and refute her errors. Her reasoning, and complaints, and remonstrances, were now equally fruitless. The permission which had been granted at the request of the emperor was explained to have been limited in its duration to a few months, and to have been confined to her own person, with the exclusion of her household. ¹⁵⁵⁰ The application of the ambassador in her favour was ^{A. 7.} met with a prompt and peremptory refusal; and, on a ^{19.} rumour of her intention to quit the kingdom, a fleet was ^{Aug} sent ^{24.}

- equipped to intercept the communication between the coast of Norfolk and the opposite shore. Soon afterwards indictments under the statute were found against two of her chaplains; and at the royal invitation Mary herself consented to meet in person the lords of the council. They parted mutually dissatisfied with each other. She asserted that "her soul was God's, and that she would neither change her faith, nor dissemble her opinion:" they replied, that "the king did not constrain her faith, but insisted that she should obey like a subject, and not rule like a sovereign *."
- Mar. 18. The next day the ambassador came to her aid with a denunciation of war from the emperor, if Edward should presume to violate the solemn promise which he had given in her favour. This unexpected menace perplexed the orthodoxy of the council. On the one hand by precipitation they would expose to the mercy of an enemy the goods of the English merchants, the equipments of the gens d'armes, and fifteen hundred quintals of gunpowder in the dépôt in Flanders: on the other hand the young king had persuaded himself that he could not conscientiously suffer his sister to practise any longer an idolatrous worship, and persist in the daily commission of a sin to damnation. The metropolitan, with Ridley and Poynt, the two new bishops of London and Rochester was commissioned to lay the spirit which he had raised; and they, to convince the royal theologian, strongly maintained that, "though to give licence to sin, was sin, yet to suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne, so all haste possible were used." With reluctance Edward submitted to the authority of these grave and reverend fathers; but lamented with tears the blind infatuation of his sister, whose obstinacy he could not convince by argument, nor was suffered to restrain by due course of law †.

The next object of the council was to gain time for

* Edward's Journal, 21.

† Edward's Journal, 21. Burnet, ii. 172.

the removal of the stores and ammunition in Flanders to an English port. With this view, the ambassador was told that the king would return an answer by a messenger of his own; and a month later Dr. Wotton was de-^{Mar}spatched to represent to the emperor that the promise ^{22.} given by Edward was of a temporary nature; that the liturgy adopted in England was only a revival of the service used in the first ages; that conformity was enjoined by a statute which bound all men, even the king himself; and that to overlook disobedience in the first subject in the realm, would be to encourage disobedience in others. At the same time to proceed with impartiality, it was determined to punish the offenders first in the royal household, then in that of the princess. Of the king's servants, sir Anthony Brown and serjeant ^{24.} Morgan were sent to the Fleet, and sir Clement Smith ^{May} received a severe reprimand; from the family of the ^{2.} princess, Dr. Mallet, the head chaplain, was selected for an example, and committed to close custody in the Tower*. An active correspondence ensued†; Mary demanding the enlargement of her chaplain, the council requiring that she should conform to the law. At length Rochester, Waldgrave, and Inglesfield, the chief ^{Aug.} officers in her household, were commanded to prevent ^{19.}

* Edward's Journ. 24. Styrpe, ii 252. Chron. Cat. 323.

† Many of the letters which were written on this occasion are extant. The council persist in asserting that the innovations in religion do not affect its substance. "Our greatest change," they say, "is not in the substance of our faith, no, not in one article of our creed. Only the difference is that we use the ceremonies, observations, and sacraments of our religion, as the apostles, and first fathers in the primitive church did. You use the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarousness and ignorance nourished; and seem to hold for custom against truth, and we for truth against custom." She declined entering into the controversy, and contended that the king was too young to understand such matters. "Give me leave," she says, "to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed they be signed with your own hand; and nevertheless, in my opinion, not your majesty's in effect. Because, "it is well known, that although (our Lord be praised) your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than any others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can at these years be judge in matters of religion. And therefore I take it that the matter in your letter proceedeth from such as do wish these things to take place, which be most agreeable to themselves: by whose doings (your majesty not offended) I intend not to rule my conscience." Foxe, ii. 43. 52. Ellis ii. 177

the use of the ancient service in the house, and to communicate this order to the servants and chaplains of their mistress. Having consulted her, they returned to the council, and offered to submit to any punishment, rather than undertake what "they could not find in their hearts or consciences to perform." They were committed to the Tower for contempt*; and the lord chancellor, sir Anthony Wyngfield, and sir William Petre, Aug. proceeding to Copped Hall in Essex, the residence of
28. the princess, announced to her, her chaplains, and servants, the royal pleasure. *These*, after a short demur, promised obedience: *she* replied: "Rather than use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, my father, I will lay my head on a block and suffer death. When the king's majesty shall come to such years that he may be able to judge these things himself, his majesty shall find me ready to obey his orders in religion: but now, though he, good sweet king, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is not possible that he can be a judge of these things. If my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear none. They may do therein as they will: but none of your new service shall be used in my house, or I will not tarry in it †."

After this period we hear no more of an affair, which, trifling as it was in itself, seems to have been considered of sufficient importance to endanger the existence of the amity between England and the imperial dominions. It is probable that Mary continued to have the mass celebrated, but in greater privacy; and that the council deemed it prudent to connive at that, which it soon became dangerous to notice. An attempt to marry her to the infant of Portugal had failed; and the declining

* They were to be kept in close custody, without pen, ink, and paper, and with a servant in the cell of each prisoner to observe his conduct. Council Book, 194. After confinement for more than six months, they were allowed to go to their own houses as prisoners, March 18th, and were set at liberty April 21th. Strype, ii. 256.

† See the extracts from the Council Book by Mr. Ellis, printed in the *Archæologia*, xviii. 154—166, and original letter, ii. 179.

health of the king directed every eye towards her as his successor. She occasionally visited her sick brother; and the state which she assumed was calculated to overawe her opponents. She was attended by one hundred and fifty or two hundred knights and gentlemen on horseback; and this retinue was generally augmented by the spontaneous accession of some of the first personages both male and female in the kingdom*.

Though the statutes against heresy had been repealed in the first year of the king's reign, still the profession of erroneous doctrine was held to be an offence punishable by the common law of the realm. It might indeed have been hoped that men, who had writhed under the lash of persecution, would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. But, however forcibly the reformers had claimed the privilege of judging for themselves under the late king, they were not disposed to concede it to others, when they themselves came into the exercise of power. As long, indeed, as they contended that their innovations trenched not on the substance of the ancient faith, the men of the old learning were secure from prosecutions for heresy: they could be proceeded against only for a breach of the statute of uniformity, or for contempt of the royal authority. But among the new teachers themselves there were several whose discoveries were calculated to excite in the breasts of their more orthodox brethren feelings of alarm and abhorrence. Some taught that the prohibition of bigamy was a papal invention; and that it was lawful for any man at his option to have one or two wives, and for any wife to have one or two husbands; others, that to admit the government of a king was to reject the government of God; and many, that children baptized in infancy should be afterwards re-baptized; that human laws were not to be obeyed; that no Christian ought to bear any office in the commonwealth; that oaths are unlawful; that Christ

* See in particular Strype, ii. 372.

did not take flesh of the Virgin ; that sinners cannot be restored to grace by repentance ; and that all things are and ought to be in common*.

Of these doctrines some by denying the incarnation were deemed to sap the very foundation of Christianity, others tended to convulse the established order of society. The lords of the council were anxious to repel the charge of encouraging tenets, which in the eyes of Europe would reflect disgrace on the English reformation ; and commissions were repeatedly issued, appointing by letters patent the archbishop, several prelates, and certain distinguished divines and civilians, inquisitors of heretical pravity. In these instruments it was asserted to be the duty of kings, especially of one who bore the title of defender of the faith, to check the diffusion of error by the punishment of its abettors, to prevent the gangrene from reaching the more healthy parts by the amputation of the diseased member ; and, therefore, as Edward himself could not at all times attend to this important concern, he delegated to the inquisitors and commissaries power to enforce the statute of uniformity against all offenders, to hear and determine all causes of heresy, and to admit the repentant to abjuration, but to deliver the obstinate to the arm of the civil power†.

The first who appeared before the archbishop was Champneis, a priest who had taught that Christ was not God, that grace was inamissible, and that the regenerate, though they might fall by the outward, could never sin by the inward, man ; he was followed by Puttow, a tanner, Thumb, a butcher, and Ashton, a priest, who had embraced the tenets of unitarianism. Terror or conviction induced them to abjure : they were sworn never to revert to their former opinions, and publicly

* St. 3 Ed. VI. 24. Strype, ii. 12, 90.

† Rym. xv. 181. 250. In these commissions are inserted the names of Cranmer, Ridley, Thurlby, Redman, Latimer, Coverdale, Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, secretaries Petre and Cecil, Cheek, the king's tutor, and several others.

bore fagots during the sermon at St. Paul's cross*. But no fear of punishment could subdue the obstinacy of a female preacher, Joan Bocher of Kent. During the last reign she had rendered important services to the reformers by the clandestine importation of prohibited books, which, through the agency of the noted Anne Askew, she conveyed to the ladies at court. She was now summoned before the inquisitors Cranmer, Smith, 1548; Cook, Latimer, and Lyell, and was charged with maintaining that "Christ did not take flesh of the outward April 31. man of the Virgin, because the outward man was conceived in sin, but by the consent of the inward man, which was undefiled." In this unintelligible jargon she persisted to the last; and when the archbishop excommunicated her as a heretic, and ordered her to be delivered to the secular power, she replied: "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago that you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread; and yet came yourselves soon afterwards to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her; and now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end will come to believe this also, when you have read the scriptures and understand them."

From the unwillingness of Edward to consent to her execution, a year elapsed before she suffered. It was not that his humanity revolted from the idea of burning her at the stake: in his estimation she deserved the severest punishment which the law could inflict. But the object of his compassion was the future condition of her soul in another world. He argued that, as long as she remained in error, she remained in sin, and that to deprive her of life in that state was to consign her soul to everlasting torments. Cranmer was compelled to moot the point with the young theologian: the objection was solved by the example of Moses, who had con-

* Wilk., Con., iv. 39—42. Stowe, 596.

demned blasphemers to be stoned; and the king with tears put his signature to the warrant. The bishops of London and Ely made in vain a last attempt to convert Bocher. She preserved her constancy at the very stake; 1550 and, when the preacher, Dr. Scory, undertook to refute May her opinion, exclaimed that "he lied like a rogue, and 2. "had better go home and study the scripture*."

The next victim was Von Parris, a Dutchman, and a surgeon in London. He denied the divinity of Christ, and, having been excommunicated by his brethren of 1551 the Dutch church in that capital, was arraigned before April Cranmer, Ridley, May, Coverdale, and several others.

6. Coverdale acted as interpreter: but the prisoner refused to abjure; Cranmer pronounced judgment, and delivered him to the gaoler at the Compter, and a few days April later the unhappy man was committed to the flames. †

24. But while the expression of unitarian sentiments was thus proscribed, under the penalty of death by burning, and the exercise of the ancient worship, under that of a long or perpetual imprisonment, a convenient latitude of practice and opinion was conceded to the strangers, whom the fear of persecution, or the advantages of commerce induced to settle in England. Foreign religionists, of every nation and every sect, Frenchmen and Italians, Germans, Poles, and Scots, were assured of an asylum in the palace of the archbishop. He procured for them livings in the church and protection at court; and in return he called on them to aid his efforts in enlightening the ignorance and dispelling the prejudices of his own countrymen. John Knox was appointed chaplain to the king, and itinerant preacher throughout the kingdom; Utenhoff and Pierre Alex-

* Wilk. Con. iv. 42, 43. Edward's Journal, 12. Heylin, 89. Strype, ii. 214. Hayward, 276. Strype (473) labours to throw some doubt on the part attributed to Cranmer in this prosecution, chiefly "because he was not present at her condemnation." Todd, ii. 149. But that he was present, and actually pronounced the judgment, appears from his own register, fol. 74. 5.

† Wilk. Con. iv. 44, 45. Stowe, 605. Edward's Journal, 24.

andre remained at Canterbury to purge the clergy from the leaven of popery : Faggio, Tremelio, and Cavalier were licensed to read lectures on the Hebrew language at Cambridge ; Martyr and Bucer undertook to teach the new theology in the two universities ; and Joannes a Lasco, Valerandus Pollanus, and Angelo Florio, were named by patent superintendents and preachers in the congregations of strangers established in London and Glastonbury*. Many, however, disputed the policy of thus authorizing independent churches of foreign dissenters, at a time when conformity was so rigorously exacted from the natives ; or of intrusting the education of the clergy, and the revision of doctrinal matters, to men, who, whatever might be their merit and acquirements, differed in several important points from the established creed, and unceasingly laboured to assimilate in doctrine and practice the prelatic church of England to the Calvinistic churches abroad.

These foreigners, however, accommodated their consciences to the existing order of things, so far as to tolerate what they hoped might be afterwards reformed† ; but there was a native preacher of more unbending principles, whose scruples or whose obstinacy proved dangerous both to himself and to the cause which he espoused. John Hooper, by his activity, his fervid declamation, and his bold though intemperate zeal, had deserved the applause and gratitude of the well-wishers to the new doctrines. Edward named him to the bishopric of Gloucester ; when the preacher himself^{1550.} opposed an unexpected obstacle to his own promotion. July How could *he* swear obedience to the metropolitan, who³ was determined to obey no spiritual authority but that of the scriptures ? How could he submit to wear the

* Strype's Cranmer, 194. 234. 242. Strype's Memorials, ii. 121. 205. 240.

† I should except Knox, who had the honesty to refuse a living, because " many things were worthy of reformation in England, without the reformation whereof, no minister did or could discharge his conscience before God." Strype, ii. 399.

episcopal habits, the livery of that church, which he had so often denominated the harlot of Babylon? Cranmer and Ridley attempted to convince him by argument, and to influence him by authority; Bucer reminded him that to the pure all things are pure; and Peter Martyr contended that the wearing of episcopal habits, though meet in his opinion to be abolished, was yet an indifferent matter, in which the most timorous might conscientiously acquiesce: on the other hand the Helvetic

Aug. divines applauded his consistency; the earl of Warwick
 4. conjured the archbishop to yield in favour of his extraordinary merit; and the king promised to protect that prelate from the penalties to which he might subject himself by swerving from the ordinal*. But Cranmer was unwilling to incur the danger of a premunire; and Hooper not only refused to submit, but published a justification of his conduct, and from the pulpit declaimed against the habits, the ordinal, and the council. The new church was on the point of being torn into fragments by the intemperance of her own children;

1551. when the royal authority interposed, and committed the
Jan. refractory preacher to the Fleet. In the confinement of
 27. a prison, the fervour of his imagination gradually cooled; the rigour of his conscience relaxed: he condescended to put on the polluted habit; he took the obnoxious oath; he accepted from the king a patent,

Mar. empowering him to govern the diocese of Gloucester, and fourteen months later was transferred to the united bishopric of Gloucester and Worcester. By this union a wider field was opened for the exercise of his zeal; but at the same time an ample source was supplied for the rapacity of the courtiers. With a double diocese he retained a less income: the larger portion of the revenues of the two sees was destined to be divided

* Council Book, 144. 147. Strype's Cranmer, 211. Memorials, ii. Rec. 126. Burnet, ii. 152. Collier, ii. 293. Some have supposed that he objected not to the oath of obedience, but to the oath of supremacy. Id. 307.

among the men, who at this period were actively employed in carving out of the possessions of the church fortunes for themselves and their posterity*.

While the nation was thus distracted by religious quarrels, the court was again thrown into confusion by a new dissension between Somerset and Warwick. The duke had come from the Tower, stripped of office, and wealth, and influence. But the vengeance of his enemies seemed to be satisfied; he was allowed to visit his nephew; that portion of his goods and chattels which had escaped the rapacity of the courtiers was restored to him; his bonds and pledges were cancelled; and he was at last re-admitted into the Mar council, where his rank of duke gave to him the nominal precedence, though in point of power he was reduced to an equality with the meanest of his colleagues. In this state the former friendship between him and Warwick seemed to revive; and their reconciliation was apparently cemented by the union of their families, in the marriage June. of lord Lisle, the earl's eldest son, with Anne, one of the daughters of Somerset. The king, accompanied by his court, graced the ceremony with his presence. He rejoiced at the restoration of harmony in his council, of friendship between an uncle whom he loved and a minister whom he prized: but his joy was quickly interrupted by the renewal of their former jealousies and dissension. Somerset could not forget what he had suffered: Warwick dared not trust the man whom he had injured. The duke aspired again to the office of protector; the earl determined not to descend from his present superiority. Their fears and suspicions led them to attribute to each other the most dangerous designs: both were beset with spies and informers; both were deceived and exasperated by false friends and interested advisers. But Warwick possessed the advantage over his adversary in the council, which was principally composed of his associates, and in the palace, where the king was surrounded with his creatures. Somerset, to aid his views, had sought, by private agents, to secure the votes of several among the peers in the next parliament; and

* Rym. xv. 297—303. 320. Strype, ii. 355—357.

to recover his influence with his nephew, he requested the lord Strange, the royal favourite, to suggest to Edward a marriage with the lady Jane Seymour, his third daughter *. Into 1551. the first of these attempts an inquiry was instituted, but afterwards abandoned; the second was defeated by the resolution of the council to demand for their sovereign the hand of Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the king of France. It is probable that on this occasion some menaces were thrown out. The lord Grey hastily departed for the northern counties, and Somerset had prepared to follow him, when he was detained by the asseveration of Sir William Herbert, that no injury was intended. A second reconciliation ensued; April 24. for some days costly entertainments were given alternately by the lords of each party; and the rival chiefs lavished on each other demonstrations of friendship, while the bitterest animosity was festering in their breasts †.

The marquess of Northampton, attended by three earls, May the eldest sons of Somerset and Warwick, and several lords 17. and gentlemen, proceeded to Paris, to invest the king of France with the order of the garter, and to seek a wife for his sovereign. His first demand, of the young queen of Scotland, was instantly refused; his second, of the princess Elizabeth, was as readily granted. The negotiators agreed that as soon as Elizabeth had completed her twelfth year she should be married to Edward; but, when they came to the settlement of her portion, the English demanded twelve, the French offered two hundred thousand crowns. This difference suspended the conclusion of the treaty for eight weeks: but Edward's commissioners successively

* It appears from a letter of Warwick, dated Jan. 22, and published by Strype (ii. 278), that during the winter the council had deliberated on a secret matter of extreme importance: that it required the greatest "vigilance and circumspection;" that the chancellor and treasurer wished "to wrap it up in silence," because it was "not expedient it should come in question;" but that he (Warwick) wished to be "reformed, seeing it had been so far debated." He makes use of these remarkable expressions: "God preserve our master! If he should fail, there is watchers enough that would bring it in question, and would burden you and others, who will not now understand the danger, to be deceivers of the whole body of the realm with an instrument forged to execute your malicious meanings." He alludes, undoubtedly, to the will of Henry VIII., the sole foundation of their authority. An instrument was devised, to supply the defect. By it Edward ratified all the acts of the council up to that day, re-appointed the same councillors during his pleasure, and invested them with full powers to discharge their office. But it does not appear to have been adopted. Strype, ii. Rec. 139. † Edward's Journal, 22. 39.

lowered their demand, and, at length accepting the offer of the opposite party, agreed to assign for her dower lands in England to the yearly amount of 10,000 marks, ^{July} 19. "the same as the dower of the most illustrious lady Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand king of Castile, or "of any other queen of England, lately married to "Henry of happy memory, king of England*." To return the compliment, the French king sent to his destined son-in-law his order of St. Michael, by the marshal St. André, who was accompanied by a numerous retinue. This minister was received on his landing by the gentlemen of the county to the amount of 1000 horsemen, and, avoiding the capital on account of the sweating sickness †, visited the king at Hampton court, where he was sumptuously entertained by Edward himself, by the duke of Somerset, and by the earl of Warwick. At his departure he received several valuable presents ‡. 31

These tranquil and festive occupations did not, however, harmonize with the projects of revenge and bloodshed which were secretly meditated by the two rivals. But the timidity and imprudence of Somerset were no match for the caution and decision of Warwick. That nobleman was apprized of all his designs; to cut off his hope of an asylum in the northern counties, he procured for himself the general wardenship of the Scottish marches, with all that pre-eminence and authority which had ever been possessed by any former warden since the reign of Richard II., and within a few days was honoured with the title of duke of Northumberland, which had long been extinct in consequence of the attainder of the lord Thomas Percy, in 1537. At the same time, to strengthen the attachment of his

* Edward's Journal, 25. Rym. xv. 273. Chron. Catal. 318. 320. 322.

† "This sweat was more vehement than the old sweat; for, if one took cold, he died within three hours, and, if he escaped, it held him but nine hours, or ten at the most. Also if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he roved, and should die roving." Edward's Journal, 30. The deaths in London, on July 10th, amounted to 100; July 11th, to 120; in eleven days, from the 8th to the 19th, to 872. Strype, ii. 277. 279.

‡ I observe that the presents given by the English exceeded in value those given by the French monarch. St. André received to the value of 3,000*l.*; Northampton to that of 500*l.* Journ. 32.

friends, he prevailed on the king to create the marquess of Dorset duke of Suffolk *, the earl of Wiltshire marquess of Winchester, sir William Herbert baron of Cardiff and earl of Pembroke, and to confer on Cecil, Cheek, Sidney, and Nevil the honour of knighthood. Somerset gradually discovered the danger which threatened him. From the earl of Arundel he received advice "to take good heed, for his counsels and secrets were come abroad:" and on application to Cecil, hitherto his creature, but now appointed secretary to the king, he was told that if he were innocent he had nothing to fear; if guilty, Cecil could only lament the misfortune of his former patron. To this cold and insulting answer he returned a letter of defiance, and then closely examined sir Thomas Palmer, who was now become to him an object of suspicion, and not without reason; for he had, in fact, already sworn an information against him. But the duke suffered himself to be deceived by the bold denial of the traitor, and on the second day afterwards was arrested at court, and hurried away to the Tower. The duchess, with her favourites, Crane and Crane's wife, followed him thither the next morning; and in a few days most of his supposed friends and advisers, among whom were the earl of Arundel, the lord Paget, and the lord Dacres of the north, were safely immured in the same prison.

It now happened that the thoughts of Edward were diverted from the approaching fate of his uncle by the presence of a royal visitor, the queen-dowager of Scotland, who on her way back from France to that kingdom had cast anchor in the harbour of Portsmouth. At the request of Henry she had obtained permission to continue her journey by land; and, to do her honour, the gentlemen of each county received orders to attend upon her as she passed. Her former hostility to the interests of England gave her no claim on the friendship of Edward: but, to please the king of France, it had been determined to treat her with extraordinary respect; she was invited to the capital, and introduced to the young king, who met her in the great Hall, kissed her, took her by the hand, and conducted her to her chamber. They

* He had married Frances the eldest daughter of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, by Mary, sister of Henry VIII. Her two brothers, Henry duke of Suffolk, and the lord Charles, had died during the late sickness. Strype, ii. 277.

dined together in state, and after her departure he sent her ^{Nov.} a valuable diamond. She left London attended by a numerous retinue of ladies and gentlemen, and at the gate received a present of one hundred marks from the city *.

Soon after her departure Somerset was brought to trial. By the statute of the third and fourth of the king it had been made treason for any persons, to the number of forty or above, to assemble in forcible manner, “to the intent to “murder, kill, or slay, *take or imprison* any of the king’s “most honourable privy council;” and felony without benefit of clergy to procure or stir up any persons to the committal of such offences. In the indictments against him, the duke was charged with both the treason and the felony, so that to his enemies it mattered little on which he might be found guilty: since in either case his life would be equally in jeopardy, and equally at their mercy. Before the trial, the marquess of Winchester was created lord high steward, and twenty-seven peers were summoned to attend, among whom were numbered Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, the three great enemies of the accused. As it was not intended to subject the witnesses to a *vivâ voce* examination in open court, twenty-two lords were called into the council chamber, before whom sir Thomas Palmer, Hammond, Crane, and Newdigate, on whose depo- ^{Nov.} sitions the counsel for the prosecution chiefly depended, 30. severally made oath that in their confessions they had strictly adhered to the truth, and said nothing through fear, compulsion, envy, or malice, but had favoured the prisoner as far as their consciences would permit. Unfortunately all these depositions have perished—at least, are not known to exist †. We have no other knowledge of them than the little

* Edward’s Journal, in Burnet by Nares, 222, 223. Strype, ii. 284. *Archæol.* xxviii. 168.

† Mr. Tytler’s searches for them in the State Paper Office have proved unsuccessful. He discovered, indeed, two confessions by the earl of Arundel, which, however, were not employed on Somerset’s trial, and a paper entitled “Crane’s information against the duke of Somerset and the earl of Arundel,” which Mr. Tytler considers as a note drawn up by one of the crown lawyers of such evidence against Somerset as could be collected from the depositions of the several prisoners (p. 41). But it is a paper of a very different character. It was, both then, and for several centuries, the custom, after a first examination in the Tower, to collect from the answers all such passages as seemed to clash with each other, or to call for explanation, or to provoke suspicion of concealment, and out of them to form a new series of interrogations for a second examination. Now, the paper in question is plainly one of these

which may be gleaned from the entries in the journal of the young king, and from a narrative of the trial, which he inserted in a private letter *. From these sources we learn that, according to the evidence, the great object of the conspiracy was to secure the persons of Northumberland, Northampton, and Herbert, who governed in the council, and were the chief obstacles to the recovery by Somerset of his former office : that for this purpose they were to be invited by the lord Paget to an entertainment to be given at his house in the Strand, in which case, if they came slenderly attended, they might be intercepted and made prisoners in the way, otherwise be surprised and despatched at table ; that Somerset should then raise the city, and with the aid of the apprentices and populace get possession of the great seal ; that Vane, with his infantry and the duke's horsemen, should attack the gens d'armes ; and that the king, being now again in the hands of his uncle, should publish a proclamation charging the three councillors with treason. In addition it was sworn that the duke nightly kept a guard of twenty armed men near his chamber at Greenwich.

On the following morning Somerset was arraigned before his peers, and defended himself with spirit. The witnesses, Newdigate, Hammond, and Seymour, were, he said, *his* men : they had sworn fealty to him, and therefore ought not to be believed against him. Palmer was a man of bad character, and totally unworthy of credit. Crane, if confronted with him, would not dare to repeat his evidence. With respect to himself, he denied that he ever meant to raise the city of London ; if he kept a guard near his chamber at Greenwich, it was to protect himself from illegal violence : the idea of bringing men to attack the gens d'armes was too extravagant to enter into a sane mind. Of the intended banquet he knew nothing : he never determined to collections. In like manner the paper published by sir Henry Ellis, under the title of " Questions put to the duke of Somerset," is not a collection of all the charges against him, but a collection of such interrogations as had been suggested by answers to former questions, and which were now to form the basis of a second examination. The numbers 10, 12, 14 are taken from the confessions of the earl of Arundel and of Crane.

* I may remark that Edward's statement in his journal of the earl of Arundel's confessions, perfectly agrees with the original confessions discovered by Mr. Tytler. Is it not, then, fair to conclude that he was equally careful and correct in the accounts which he gives of other confessions and depositions, though we cannot compare them ?

kill the three members of the council, though that had been made the subject of conversation. So much he would not deny but "he had determined after the contrary *." He maintained with oaths that he had never desired the lord Strange to suggest a marriage between the king and his daughter. Lord Strange deposed upon oath that he had done so.

It was three in the afternoon before the lords began to deliberate on their verdict. With respect to the indictment for felony all were agreed; but with regard to the charge of treason, the three councillors, whose lives the duke is said to have sought, assumed the office of his advocates. They called upon the court "to eschew rigour and extremity," to grant to the accused "as much equity as might anywise be devised," and therefore to be content with a conviction on the minor offence †. It is probable that by this show of moderation and forbearance they hoped to escape the imputation of revenge and cruelty ‡. Their advice was, however, adopted. Somerset was acquitted of treason, but found guilty of the felony without a dissentient voice §. He was then recalled, informed of the result by the lord Steward, and received the usual sentence of death for that offence. Falling on his knees, "he gave thanks to the court "for the open trial, cried mercy of Northumberland, North-

* Edward's Journal, 225. The king adds, "yet he seemed to confess he went about their death." And certainly, if that was the best answer which he could make to the charge, it would not go far to remove any suspicion which previously existed.

† See the letter of the lord Steward, written on the following day, in Tytler, ii. 63—65.

‡ Edward's Journal, 225. According to the king, in his letter to Fitzpatrick, their motive was that "men might not think they did it of malice." — Fuller, 429. Mr. Tytler, however, is convinced that the real motive was the inability of the prosecutors to prove that the duke intended to put the councillors to death, founding this opinion on the notion that such was the treason in question. He is evidently in error; for it was no less treason "to take or imprison" them than to kill or slay them. So that if the acquittal of treason acquitted the duke of any intention to slay, so it did also of any intention to apprehend them, of which, however, he was convicted by being found guilty of the felony.

§ That he was found guilty by the whole body, and not by a majority only, is plain from the Record: *quilibet eorum separatim dixerunt quod prædictus Edwardus nuper dux Somers. ; de felonis prædictis fuit culpabilis.* — Coke's Entries, fol. 482. Neither is it true that this was only felony, when the party continued together after proclamation to separate; for, as has been already noticed, there is another part of the same act which, without mention of any proclamation, makes it felony for any person, after the 12th of February, "to stir or move others to raise or make any traitorous or rebellious assembly, to the intent to do, or exercise, or put in use, any of the things above mentioned." — Stat. of Realm, iv. 107.

“ampton, and Pembroke, for his ill-meaning against them, “and made suit for his life, wife, children, servants, and “debts *.” The axe of the Tower was now turned from him, and the populace observing its direction, when he left the court, expressed their joy by repeated acclamations, under the impression that he had been acquitted of every offence.

After his condemnation, and in the solitude of his cell, Somerset had leisure to compare his situation with that of the lord admiral, in the same place, not three years before. The duke had indeed enjoyed an indulgence which he had refused to his unfortunate brother, a public trial by his peers. But could he expect that the ambition of Warwick would prove less jealous or inexorable than his own: that an enemy would extend to him that mercy, which *he* had withheld from one of his own blood? He made indeed the experiment; but every avenue to the throne was closed; his nephew was convinced of his guilt, and of the expedience of his punishment; and he received for answer that he must pay the forfeit of his life, but should have a long respite to prepare himself for death. Six weeks after his trial the warrant for his execution was signed; † and at an early
 1552. hour, eight in the morning, he was delivered to the
 Jan. sheriffs of London, and by them conducted to the
 22. scaffold on Tower Hill. An immense crowd had already assembled. The duke’s attention to the poor during his protectorship, and his constant opposition to the system of enclosures, had created him many friends among the lower classes, who hastened to witness his end, but still flattered themselves with the hope of a reprieve. In his address from the scaffold, he said, that he had always been a true subject to the king, and on that account was now willing to lay down his life in obedience to the law; that, on a review of his past conduct, there was nothing

* Edward’s Journal, 225. By “ill-meaning” Edward means machinations against their lives; for in his letter to Fitzpatrick, describing the same thing, he says: “whom he confessed he meant to *destroy*, altho’ before he “swore vehemently to the contrary.” — Fuller, 409.

† Rym. xv. 295. We are told that the king was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements: yet the first of these amusements occurred on the 3rd of January, a month after the condemnation. Such things always took place during the Christmas holidays. See Edward’s Journal, 43.

which he regretted less than his endeavours to reduce religion to its present state; and that he exhorted the people to profess it and practise it, if they wished to escape those visitations with which heaven was prepared to punish their offences. At that moment a body of officers with bills and halberts, who had been ordered to attend the execution, issued from the postern; and, perceiving that they were behind their time, rushed precipitately towards the scaffold. The crowd gave way: the spectators at a distance, ignorant of the cause, yielded to the sudden impulse of terror; and, in their eagerness to escape from imaginary danger, some were trampled under foot; others, to the number of one hundred, were driven into the Tower ditch; and many, dispersing themselves through the city, ascribed their fright to an earthquake, to a sudden peal of thunder, or to some miraculous and inexplicable indication of the divine displeasure. Order had scarcely been restored, when sir Anthony Brown, a member of the council, was seen approaching on horseback. Some one imprudently shouted, "A pardon, a pardon;" and the word was quickly echoed from mouth to mouth, till it reached the scaffold: but the duke, after a moment's suspense, learned that he had been deceived by the fond wishes of the spectators. The disappointment called up a hectic colour in his cheeks: but he resumed his address with composure and firmness of voice, repeating that he was a loyal man, exhorting his auditors to love the king, and obey his counsellors, and desiring their prayers, that he might die as he lived, in the faith of Christ. Then covering his face with his handkerchief, he laid his head on the block. At one stroke it was severed from the body*.

Of the many individuals accused as the accomplices of this unfortunate nobleman, four only, Partridge and Vane, Stanhope and Arundel, were selected for capital punishment. All were convicted on the same evidence

* Edward's Journal, 46. Foxe, 98. The fanaticism of this writer compares the tumult at the execution to what "happened unto Christ, when as the officers "of the high priests and pharisees coming with weapons to take him, being "astonished, ran backwards, and fell to the ground." Ibid. The true cause is noticed by Stowe, who was present, p. 607. See also Ellis, 2nd series, ii. 215.

as the duke: all at the place of execution maintained their innocence; and Vane in strong language assured the spectators, that as often as Northumberland should lay his head on his pillow, he would find it wet with their blood. The two first died by the hand of the hangman, the others by the axe of the executioner. Though Paget had been the confidential adviser of Somerset, though it was said that at his house the intended assassination should have taken place, he was never brought to trial. But he made his submission, confessed that he had been guilty of peculation in the offices which he held under the crown, surrendered the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, was degraded from the order of the garter, and paid a considerable fine. The earl of Arundel, after an imprisonment of twelve months, recovered his liberty; but not till he had acknowledged himself guilty of concealing the treason of the conspirators, had resigned the office of warden of several royal parks, and had bound himself to pay annually to the king the sum of one thousand marks during the term of six years. The lord Grey and the other prisoners were successively discharged*.

Dec.
3.

1552 The parliament met the day after the execution of
Jan. Somerset. As it had been originally summoned by his
23. order and under his influence, the lower house numbered among its members several, who cherished a warm, though secret attachment to his memory. Their opposition to the court animated their debates with a spirit of freedom hitherto unknown; and by delays and amendments they retarded or defeated the favourite measures of the minister, till his impatience silenced their hostility by a hasty dissolution. Of the acts which received the royal assent, a few deserve the reader's attention. 1°. Now, for the first time, was made a legal provision

* Council Book, f. 252. Stowe, 607, 608. Strype, ii. 310. 333. Edward's Journal, 56. It is remarkable that all of them were by degrees taken into favour, and obtained the remission of a part, or of the whole of their fines. Arundel was again admitted into the council, and was moreover discharged of his debt to the crown, but only four days before the king's death.

for the poor. For that purpose the churchwardens received authority to collect charitable contributions, and the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against the defaulters*. 2°. It was about three years since the composition of the book of common prayer had been attributed by the unanimous assent of the legislature to "the aid of the Holy Ghost." But this solemn declaration had not convinced the scepticism of the foreign teachers. They examined the book with a jealous eye; they detected passages, which in their estimation savoured of superstition, or led to idolatry; their complaints were echoed and re-echoed by their English disciples; and Edward, at the suggestion of his favourite instructors, affirmed that, if the prelates did not undertake the task, the new service should be freed from these blemishes without their assistance. Cranmer submitted the book in a Latin translation to the consideration of Bucer and Peter Martyr, whose judgment or prejudice recommended several omissions, and explanations, and improvements†; a committee of bishops and divines acquiesced in most of the animadversions of these foreign teachers; and the book in its amended form received the assent of the convocation. But here a new difficulty arose. It was the province of the clergy to decide on matters of doctrine and worship: how then could they submit a work approved by themselves to the revision of the lay branches of the legislature? To elude the inconvenience, it was proposed to connect the amended service and the ordinal with a bill, which was then in its progress through parliament, to compel by additional penalties attendance at the national worship. The clergy hoped that both forms would thus steal through the two houses without exciting any notice; but their object was detected and defeated; the books were read through, before the act was permitted to pass; and both without alteration were allowed and confirmed.

* St. of Realm, iv. 131.

† Strype's Cranmer, 209, 252. App. 154. Burnet, ii. 155.

By the new statute, to which they had been appended, the bishops were ordered to coerce with spiritual censures all persons who should absent themselves from the amended form of service, the magistrates with corporal punishment all those who should employ any other service in its place. To hear, or be present at, any manner of divine worship, or administration of the sacraments, or ordination of ministers, differing from those set forth by authority, subjected the offender on the first conviction to imprisonment during the space of six months, on the second during the space of one year, and on the third during the term of his natural life*.

3°. An attempt was made by the crown to revive some of the most objectionable acts of the late reign, though they had been repealed in Edward's first parliament. The lords without hesitation passed a bill making it treason to call the king or any of his heirs a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or usurper; but the rigour of the measure was mitigated by the spirit of the commons, who, as had been done already with respect to the denial of the supremacy, drew a broad distinction between the different manners of committing the offence. To brand the king with such disgraceful appellations "by writing, printing, carving, or graving," as it demanded both time and deliberation, might be assumed as a proof of malice, and call for the very extremity of punishment: but to do it in words only, would often proceed from indiscretion or the sudden impulse of passion, and therefore could not in justice deserve so severe a retribution. On this account they visited the first and second offence with forfeiture and imprisonment only, and reserved for the third the more grievous punishment of treason. The amendment, however, was of small importance compared with the provision with which it was accompanied.

* St. of Realm, iv. 120. The dissentients to this intolerant act were the earl of Derby, the bishops of Carlisle and Norwich, and the lords Stourton and Wyndsoir. Journ. 421. After the passing of the act the bishops laid aside the episcopal dress, and the prebendaries their hoods, because the rubric required nothing more than the surplice. Collier ii. 325.

The constant complaint of accused persons, that they could not establish their innocence, because they were never confronted with their accusers, had attracted the public notice. The more the question was discussed, the more the iniquity of the usual method of proceeding was condemned; and it was now enacted, that no person should be arraigned, indicted, convicted, or attainted of any manner of treason, unless on the oath of two lawful accusers, who should be brought before him at the time of his arraignment, and there should openly avow and maintain their charges against him. Thus was laid the foundation of a most important improvement in the administration of criminal justice; and a maxim was introduced, which has proved the best shield of innocence against the jealousy, the arts, and the vengeance of superior power*.

4^o The utility of the last enactment was proved even before the expiration of the session. In 1550 Nynian Mennill had accused Tunstall, bishop of Durham, of having been privy to an intended rising in the north, but had failed of proving the charge, through the loss of a letter written by the bishop. That letter was now found among the private papers of the late duke of Somerset, and Tunstall, though he maintained that it was susceptible of the most innocent interpretation, was committed by the council to the Tower, 1551. “there to abide such order as his doings by the course of Dec. 28. “the lawe should appear to have deserved.” But Northumberland would not trust to the course of the law. He applied to parliament by a bill “to deprive Tunstall of his “bishopric for divers heinous offences.” It was passed by the lords; but the commons, treating it as a bill of attainder, contended that he had a right to be confronted with his accuser, and petitioned that both Tunstall and Mennill might be examined before them. Edward was advised to return no answer, and they declined to proceed any further with the cause. Still the bishop did not escape. He was called before certain judges and doctors of common law, em-

* St. of Realm, iv. 144.

powered to examine him of "all conspiracies, contempts, and concealments, and, if he were guilty, to deprive him
 1552. "of his bishopric." By them judgment of deprivation was
 Oct. pronounced, and he was sent back to the Tower, where he
 14. remained a prisoner till the accession of the next sovereign*.

The late statute ensured the adoption of the amended liturgy in every diocese of the kingdom; a French translation communicated it to the natives of Jersey and Guernsey. But were not the king's subjects in Ireland equally entitled to the benefit of a form of worship in their own tongue? Undoubtedly they were: but it had long been the object of the government to suppress the Irish language within the English pale; and, to have chosen that language for the vehicle of religious instruction and religious worship, would have been to authorize and perpetuate its use. It was, I conceive, for this reason that the royal advisers submitted to entail on themselves that reproach, which they had been accustomed to cast on the church of Rome, and enjoined by proclamation that the Irish should attend to the service in English, a language which few among them could understand†. By Brown, the archbishop of Dublin, and four of his brethren, the order was cheerfully obeyed: Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, and the other prelates, rejected it with scorn. The consequence was that the ancient service was generally retained: the new was adopted in those places only, where an armed force compelled its introduction. The lords of the council, to punish the disobedience of Dowdal, took from him the title of primate of all Ireland, and transferred it to his more obsequious brother the archbishop of Dublin‡.

* Lords' Journals, 418, 425. Archbishop Cranmer and lord Stourton dissented from the bill against the bishop of Durham, 418. Journals of Commons, 21, 23. Extract from Council Book, Arc. vol. xviii. 170.

† The lord deputy was, however, instructed "to cause the English to be translated into the Irish, until the people may be brought to understand the English" (Chron. Cat. 311.); but this was never done.

‡ Leland, i. iii. c. 3. He left the country; and the king appointed him a successor: but the new archbishop died in a few weeks, and Dowdal recovered his see at the accession of Mary. Strype's Cranmer, 278.

At the same time Cranmer had the satisfaction to complete two works of the highest importance to the cause of the reformation, 1^o. a collection of the articles of religion, and 2^o. a code of ecclesiastical constitutions. 1^o. During the last reign he had subscribed with the other prelates every test of orthodoxy promulgated by Henry: but after the death of that monarch a new light appears to have burst upon his mind; in the homilies, the order of communion, and the English service, he continued to recede from the opinions which he had formerly approved; and it became at last a problem of some difficulty to determine what was or was not to be considered as the faith of the English church. To remedy the evil, he obtained an order from the council to compose a body of religious doctrine, which, when it had received the royal approbation, should become the authorized standard of orthodoxy. It was an arduous and invidious undertaking. Why, it might be asked, now that the scriptures were open to all, should the opinion of any one man, or of any particular body of men, bind the understandings of others? or why should those who had emancipated themselves from the authority of the pontiff be controlled in their belief by the authority of the king? On the other hand, the archbishop was supported by the example of the reformed churches abroad, and impelled by the necessity of enforcing uniformity among the preachers at home, who by their dissensions and contradictions perplexed and disedified their hearers. Cranmer proceeded in his task with caution and deliberation: a rough copy was circulated among his friends, and submitted to the inspection of the council; the communications of others were gratefully accepted, and carefully weighed; even Knox, by command of the king was consulted*; and the work, when it had received the last corrections, was laid before a committee of bishops and divines. Their approbation ensured that of the king, by whose authority it was published in forty-two

* To Knox was offered a living, as a reward for his services; this he refused, but accepted the sum of 40*l*. Privy Council Book, Oct. 27th, 1552. Strype, ii. 389.

articles in Latin and English; and by whom, a short time before his death, it was ordered to be subscribed by all churchwardens, schoolmasters, and clergymen*. On this foundation rests its authority. It was never ratified by parliament; nor, though the printed title makes the assertion†, does it appear to have been sanctioned by the convocation.

2°. To complete the reformation but one thing more was now wanting, a code of ecclesiastical laws in abrogation of the canons which the realm had formerly received from the church of Rome. The idea of such a compilation had been entertained under Henry: it was reduced to practice under Edward. An act had been already passed empowering the king to give the force of law to those ecclesiastical regulations, which should be made by two-and-thirty commissioners appointed by his letters patent, and taken in equal proportions from the spirituality and temporality of the realm. But experience showed that the number of the commissioners was calculated to breed diversity rather than uniformity of opinion; and the task was delegated in the first instance to a sub-committee of eight persons, with the archbishop at their head. The result of their labours is in a great measure attributed to his industry and research: but it was put into a new form, and couched in more elegant language, by the pens of Cheek and Haddon. Under the title of *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, it treats in fifty-one articles of all those subjects, the cognizance of which appertained to the spiritual courts; and, though its publication was prevented by the premature death of the king, it must be considered as a most interesting

* Strype's *Cranmer*. 272, 293. Burnet, ii. 166. iii. 210—213. Wilk. Conc. iv. 79. In the universities an oath was exacted from every person who took any degree, that he would look on the articles as true and certain, and would defend them in all places as agreeable to the word of God. It will, however, require some ingenuity to reconcile with each other the following passages in that oath: *Deo teste promitto ac spondeo, me scripturæ auctoritatem hominum judiciis præpositurum...et articulos...regia auctoritate in lucem editos pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco, tanquam consentientes cum verbo dei defensurum.* MSS. Col. Cor. Chr. Cant. Miscel. P. fol. 492.

† In the title-page the articles are said to have been agreed to in the *synod of London* in the year 1552."

document, inasmuch as it discloses to us the sentiments of the leading reformers on several questions of the first importance.

It commences with an exposition of the Catholic faith, and enacts the punishment of forfeiture and death against those who deny the Christian religion. It then regulates the proceedings in cases of heresy, the ceremony of abjuration, and the delivery of the obstinate heretic to the civil magistrate, that he may suffer death according to law. Blasphemy subjects the offender to the same penalty. The marriages of minors, without the consent of their parents or guardians, and of all persons whomsoever, without the previous publication of banns, or the entire performance of the ceremony in the church according to the book of common prayer, are pronounced of no effect. The seducer of a single woman is compelled to marry her, or to endow her with one-third of his fortune; or, if he have no fortune, to charge himself with the maintenance of their illegitimate offspring, and to suffer some additional and arbitrary punishment. Adultery is visited with imprisonment or transportation for life. In addition, if the offender be the wife, she forfeits her jointure, and all the advantages she might have derived from her marriage; if the husband, he returns to the wife her dower, and adds to it one half of his own fortune. But to a clergyman, in whom the enormity of the offence increases in proportion to the sanctity of his office, the penalty is more severe. He loses his benefice, and surrenders the whole of his estate, if he be married, to the unoffending party, for the support of her and her children; if unmarried, to the bishop, that it may be devoted to purposes of charity.

Divorces are allowed not only on account of adultery, but also of desertion, long absence, cruel treatment, and danger to health or life: in all which cases the innocent party is permitted to marry again, the guilty condemned to perpetual exile or imprisonment. To these five causes is added confirmed incompatibility of temper; but this,

though it may justify a separation, does not allow to either party the privilege of contracting another marriage*. In cases of defamation, when, from the destruction of papers or the absence of witnesses, the truth cannot be discovered, the accused is permitted to clear his character by his oath, provided he can produce a competent number of compurgators, who shall swear that they give full credit to his assertion. Commutation of penance for money is conceded on particular occasions; the right of devising property by will is refused to married women, slaves, children under fourteen years of age, heretics, libellers, females of loose character, usurers, and convicts sentenced to death, or perpetual banishment or imprisonment; and excommunication is asserted to cut off the offender from the society of the faithful, the protection of God, and the expectation of future happiness; and to consign him to everlasting punishment, and the tyranny of the devil†.

Edward had inherited from his mother a weak and delicate constitution. In the spring of the year he was considerably reduced by successive attacks of the measles and the small-pox: in the latter part of the summer a troublesome cough, the effect of imprudent exposure to the cold, terminated in an inflammation on the lungs: and, when the new parliament assembled, the king's weakness compelled him to meet the two houses at his residence of Whitehall. In the morning, after he had

1. heard a sermon from the Bishop of London, and received the sacrament in company with several of the lords, he proceeded in state to a neighbouring chamber, in which the session was opened with a speech from the chancellor, Goodrick, bishop of Ely. Northumberland had no reason to fear opposition from the present parliament. To secure a majority in the lower house, orders had been sent to the sheriffs to return grave and able men, and to attend to the recommendations of the privy councillors

* Reform. leg. c. viii—xii.

† See the *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, published anno 1571.

in their neighbourhood; and sixteen individuals, all of them employed at court, and high in the confidence of the minister, had been nominated by the king himself, in letters addressed to the sheriffs of Hampshire, Suffolk, Berks, Bedford, Surrey, Cambridge, Oxford, and Northamptonshire*. The great object of Northumberland was to obtain money for the payment of the royal debts, which amounted to a considerable sum, and could not be liquidated by the annual sales of the chantry lands, and of the monastic possessions still held by the crown†. A subsidy with two tenths and fifteenths, was granted: but the preamble, which attributed the king's necessities to improvident and extravagant expenditure under the duke of Somerset, is said to have given rise in the lower house to a long and animated debate. Another object, perhaps of equal importance in the opinion of the minister, was the dissolution of the bishopric of Durham. Defeated in his attempt to procure the deprivation of Tunstall in the last parliament by a bill of pains and penalties, he had erected a new court of lawyers and civilians, with power to call the prelate before them, to inquire into all conspiracies, concealments, contempts, and offences with which he might be charged, and to pronounce judgment of deprivation, if his guilt should deserve such punishment. By this new, and as it was afterwards held, illegal tribunal, he had been stripped of all his ecclesiastical preferments; and, as the see of Durham was now held to be vacant, an act was passed for the suppression of that diocese, and the establishment of two others by the king's letters patent, of which one should comprehend the county of Northumberland, the other that of Durham. To justify this measure was alleged the enormous extent of the former diocese; a

* Strype, ii. 394.

† See the great amount of these sales in Strype, ii. 362. 373. 427. App. 85-94. As an additional resource, commissions were issued to seize for the treasury all the plate, jewels, and ornaments belonging to the churches, leaving only as many chalices in each as might be necessary for the administration of the sacrament, and such ornaments as the commissioners in their discretion should think requisite. Fuller, i. vii. 417.

hypocritical pretext employed to turn the attention of the members from the real object of the ministers. Within a month after the dissolution the bishopric was converted into a county palatine, annexed for the present to the crown, but destined to reward at a convenient opportunity the services of the house of Dudley*.

Northumberland was not only the most powerful, his rapacity had made him the most wealthy, individual in the realm. Though his former possessions were sufficiently ample to satisfy the ordinary avarice of a subject, he had, during this and the two last years, increased them by the addition of the stewardships of the east riding of Yorkshire, and of all the royal manors in the five northern counties, and by grants from the crown of Tinmouth and Alnwick in Northumberland, of Bernard castle in the bishopric of Durham, and of extensive estates in the three shires of Somerset, Warwick, and Worcester†. He was, however, aware that he held this pre-eminence of wealth and power by a very precarious tenure. The life of the king was uncertain, in all probability was hastening to its close; from the Lady Mary, the presumptive heir, he had little reason to expect friendship or protection; and he foresaw that, if he were left to the mercy of his enemies, he must resign his offices, reforge his wealth, and perhaps atone for his ambition on the scaffold. It became his policy to provide against future danger, by increasing the number, and multiplying the resources of his adherents. His brother and sons were placed in confidential situations near the throne; every office at court was successively intrusted to one or other among his creatures, whose predecessors received yearly pensions as the reward of their resignation, and the price of their future services; and, to connect with his own the interests of other powerful families, he projected a marriage between his fourth son, Guilford Dudley, and the lady Jane Grey,

* Strype, ii. 507.

† See the titles of these grants in Strype, ii. 499. 504. 507. 508.

the granddaughter of Mary, sister to Henry VIII.; a second between his own daughter Catherine, and the lord Hastings, the eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon; and a third between the lady Catherine Grey and lord Herbert, the son of the earl of Pembroke, who owed both his title and property to the favour of Northumberland*.

Hitherto Edward, who had inherited a portion of his father's obstinacy, had paid little attention to the advice of his physicians. In the beginning of May an unexpected improvement was observed in his health: he promised to submit for the future to medical advice; and the most flattering hopes were entertained of his recovery †. Northumberland chose this period to celebrate the marriages by which he sought to consolidate his power. Durham house, in the Strand, his new residence, was a scene of continued festivity and amusement; the king, unable to attend in person, manifested his approval by magnificent presents; and at the same time, as if it were wished to conciliate the approbation of the lady Mary, a grant was made to her of the castle of Hertford, and of several manors and parks in the counties of Hertford and Essex ‡.

After a short and delusive interval, Edward relapsed into his former weakness. The symptoms of his disorder grew daily more alarming; and it became evident that his life could not be protracted beyond the term of a few June weeks. His danger urged Northumberland to execute a project, which he had in all probability meditated for some time, of perpetuating his own influence, by placing the crown, in the event of the king's death, on the head of his own son §. By act of parliament, and the will of

* Stowe, 609. There remained a third daughter, the lady Mary Gray, who in 1585 was furtively married to Martin Keys, the gentleman porter. He was the largest man, she the most diminutive woman, at court. Elizabeth threw them both into prison. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, i. 477.

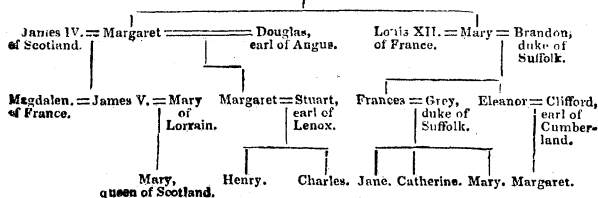
† See Northumberland's letter to Cecil, dated May 7. Strype, ii. App. 161, and the lady Mary's to the king, dated May 16. Strype, ii. 424.

‡ Strype, ii. 520, 521.

§ With what view? Probably to secure himself and his colleagues from the punishment which he anticipated in a new reign, "for having been deceivers of the whole body of the realm by a forged instrument." See his letter in p. 78, note. Might not the real object of that letter be to remind the coun-

the last monarch, the next heirs were the ladies Mary and Elizabeth; but, as the statutes pronouncing them illegitimate had never been repealed, it was presumed that such illegitimacy might be successfully opposed in bar of their claim. After their exclusion, the crown would of right descend to one of the representatives of the two sisters of Henry VIII. Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Mary, queen of France. Margaret was the elder: but her descendants had been overlooked in the will of the late king, and the animosity of the nation against Scotland would readily induce it to acquiesce in the exclusion of the Scottish line. There remained then the representative of Mary, the French queen, who was Frances, married to Grey, formerly marquess of Dorset, and lately created, in favour of his wife, duke of Suffolk. But Frances had no ambition to ascend a disputed throne, and easily consented to transfer her right to her eldest daughter Jane, the wife of Northumberland's fourth son, Guilford Dudley*. Having arranged his plan, the duke ventured to whisper it in the ear of the sick prince; and recommended it to his approbation by a most powerful appeal to his religious prejudices. Edward, he said, by the extirpation of idolatry, and the establishment of a pure system of faith and worship, had secured to himself an immortal reputation in this, everlasting happiness in the next world. The lovers of the gospel had promised to themselves the long enjoyment of so invaluable a blessing: but now the dangerous state of their danger, and thus predispose them to assent to the change of the succession, which he contemplated?

* Henry VII.



of his health opened to them a dark and menacing prospect. He was acquainted with the bigotry of his sister Mary, which had hitherto set at defiance both his persuasion and his authority. Were she to ascend the throne, she would seize the first opportunity to undo all that he had done; to extinguish the new light, and to replunge the nation into the darkness of error and superstition. Did he not shudder at the very thought? Could he answer it to himself, would he be able to answer it before God, if by his connivance he should permit, while he had it in his power to avert, so direful an evil? Let him make a will like his father, let him pass by the lady Mary on account of illegitimacy, and the lady Elizabeth, who laboured under the same defect, and then entail the crown on the posterity of his aunt, the French queen, whose present descendants were distinguished by their piety and their attachment to the reformed worship*.

To these interested suggestions the sick prince, over whose mind the duke had long exercised an unlimited control, listened with feelings of approbation. Perhaps he persuaded himself that he might justly assume on his death-bed those powers which had been exercised by his father Henry: perhaps he deemed it a duty to sacrifice the rights of his sister to the paramount interests of his religion. He was, however, taught not to expose his adversaries to the resentment of those whom he was about to exclude from the succession. He took the whole responsibility on himself; and sketched with his own pen a rough draft, by which the crown was entailed in the first place on "the Lady Fraunces's heirs masles," in the next on "the Lady Jane's heirs masles," and then on the heirs male of her sisters. But this suited not the views of Northumberland. Not one of these ladies had heirs male; and of course the crown, at the death of Edward, would not devolve on any one of that family. A slight correction was therefore made. The letter "s"

* Godwin, 103.

at the end of "Jane's" was scored out, the words "and her" were interlined; by which change the instrument was made to read thus: "to the lady Jane and her heirs "masles." Thus the wife of Guilford Dudley became the first in the succession. A fair copy was then made, and Edward put to it his signature, above, below, and on each margin*.

June As soon as these preparations were completed, sir

11. Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, sir Thomas Bromley, another justice of the same court, and sir Richard Baker, chancellor of the augmentations, with Gosnold and Gryllyn, the attorney and solicitor-general, received a summons to attend the council at Greenwich. On their arrival they were introduced to the king, who said, that he had seriously weighed the dangers which threatened the laws, and liberties, and religion of the country, if the lady Mary should inherit the crown, and marry a foreign prince; that, to prevent so great an evil, he had determined to change the order of the succession; and that he had sent for them to draw up a legal instrument, according to the instructions, which he had authorized with his signature. They attempted to speak: but he refused to hear any objection, and with difficulty consented to a short respite, that they might peruse the different acts of succession, and deliberate on the most eligible means of accomplishing the royal pleasure.
- 12.

- 14 Two days later Montague and his companions waited on the lords of the council, and informed them that such an instrument as had been required was a violation of the statute of the 35th of the late king, and would subject both those who had drawn, and those who had advised it, to the penalties of treason. At these

* Strype's Cran. App. 164. The fact of the correction was first made known by Dr. Nares, in his *Life of Burghley*, i. 452. The instructions for the rest of the will were written by secretary Petre, and dictated by Edward. He left Mary and Elizabeth annuities of 1000*l.*, and, if they should marry by advice of the council, added 10,000*l.* to the portions left them by his father. Strype, ii. 431.

words Northumberland entered from another room, trembling with rage; he threatened and called them traitors; and declared that he was ready to fight in his shirt with any man in so just a quarrel. They were commanded to retire, and the same evening received an order to attend the next day, with the exception of the solicitor-general.

On their admission to the royal presence, Edward sternly asked, why his command had not been obeyed. The chief justice replied that to obey would have been dangerous to them, and of no service to his grace; that the succession had been settled by statute, and could be altered only by statute; and that he knew of no other legal expedient but the introduction of a bill for that purpose into the next parliament. The king replied that it was his determination to have the deed of settlement executed now, and ratified afterwards in the parliament summoned to meet in September; and therefore he commanded them on their allegiance to submit to his pleasure. Montague began to waver: his conversion was hastened by the threats and reproaches of the lords of the council, who attended in a body; and, after a short hesitation, turning to the king, he professed his readiness to obey, but requested that he might have under the great seal, first a commission to draw the instrument, and then a full pardon for having drawn it. To this Edward assented: Bromley and Baker followed the example of the chief justice; but the repugnance of Gosnold, was not subdued till the following day*.

Among the privy councillors there were some who, though apprized of the illegality, and apprehensive of the consequences of the measure, suffered themselves to be seduced from their duty by the threats and promises of Northumberland, and by their objection to the succession of a princess, who would probably re-establish the ancient faith, and compel them to restore the pro-

* See Montague's statement in Fuller, l. viii. 2—3.

perty which they had torn from the church. The archbishop, if we may believe his own statement, had requested a private interview with the king, but he was accompanied by the marquess of Northampton and the lord Darcy, in whose presence Edward solicited him to subscribe the new settlement, expressed a hope that he would not refuse to his sovereign a favour which had been granted by every other councillor, and assured him that, according to the decision of the judges, a king, in actual possession, had a power to limit the descent of the crown after his decease. Cranmer confesses that he had the weakness to yield against his own conviction, "and so," says he, "I granted him to subscribe his will, "and to follow the same; which when I had set my "hand unto, I did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation *."

Northumberland, whether it was that he suspected the fidelity of some among his colleagues, or that he was unwilling to trust the success of his project to the dilatory forms of office, had prepared another paper, to which at the royal command four-and-twenty of the counsellors and legal advisers of the crown affixed their signatures. By it they pledged their oaths and honour to "observe every article contained in his majesty's own "device respecting the succession, subscribed with his "majesty's hand in six several places, and delivered to "certain judges and other learned men, that it might be "written in full order;" to maintain and defend it to the uttermost of their power during their lives; and if any man should hereafter attempt to alter it, to repute him an enemy to the welfare of the kingdom, and to punish him according to his deserts †. As soon as the official

* I give his words, because their meaning has been disputed. To me he appears to say that, when he *had* once subscribed, he followed the will, that is, supported it, unfeignedly and without dissimulation. The object of his letter was to beg pardon for "consenting and *following* the testament." See Strype, App. 169.

† The subscribers were Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas, bishop of Ely, chancellor; Winchester, lord treasurer; Northumberland, great master; Bedford, lord privy seal; John, duke of Suffolk; North-

instrument had been prepared, it was engrossed in parchment, carried to the chancery, and authenticated with the great seal. It then received the signatures of June the lords of the council, and of several peers, judges, 21. officers of the crown, and others, to the number of one hundred and one witnesses*.

Northumberland's next object was to secure the 22. person of the lady Mary. His sons had received licenses to raise companies of horse; several petty fortifications on the sea coast and the banks of the Thames had been dismantled, to provide, without exciting suspicion, a supply of powder and ammunition for the Tower, forty additional warders were introduced into that fortress; the constable, sir John Gage, was superseded in the command by Sir James Croft, a creature of the duke;

ampton, lord high chamberlain; Shrewsbury, lord president in the north, the earl of Huntingdon; the earl of Pembroke; Clinton, lord admiral; Darcy, chamberlain of the household; lord Cobham; Cheyne, treasurer of the household; lord Rich; Gate, vice-chamberlain; Petre, Cheek, and Cecil, principal secretaries; Montague, Baker, Gryffyn, Lucas, and Gosnold. See the instrument in Strype's *Cranmer*, App. p. 163. Burnet, iii. Rec. 207. In defence of the subscribers, it has been supposed that they might have been deceived; that the original draft by Edward had been exhibited to them; and that they subscribed without any knowledge of the correction to be afterwards made in it. But this is no more than an unfounded conjecture. None of them subsequently alleged any such excuse; nor could it avail them; for even the original draft was an infringement of the statute of the 35th of Henry VIII. and of his alleged will, on which the council founded their own authority.

* See the will in Howell, 754. We have three accounts of the transaction, one by sir Edward Montague, another by Cranmer, and a third by Cecil. It may perhaps detract something from their credit, that they are interested statements, drawn up by the writers for the purpose of extenuating their own guilt in the estimation of queen Mary. Neither is it easy to reconcile them with each other, or with known facts. Thus Cranmer says that both the king and his council assured him that the judges had declared in favour of the legality of the measure (Strype's *Cran.* App. 169); Montague, on the contrary, tells us that he repeatedly, in his own name and that of his colleagues, pronounced it illegal in the presence of the whole council, and consequently of the archbishop (Fuller, l. viii. p. 3). Cecil said that he refused to subscribe, when none of the others refused; and that if he subscribed at last, it was not as an abettor of the measure, but merely as a witness to the king's signature. (Strype ii. 480.; iv. 347.) Yet in the instrument mentioned in the last note, his name occurs in its proper place, not as of a witness, but as of one who takes his oath, and promises on his honour to maintain it. Cranmer in his statement takes credit to himself for being the last who was persuaded to subscribe.

and Croft, when all was ready, surrendered his charge to the lord Clinton, lord high admiral. Then, to secure their prey, a letter was written by the council to the lady Mary, requiring her by the king's order to repair immediately to court. Had she reached London, her next removal would have been to the Tower: but she received a friendly hint of her danger on the road: and hastened back to her residence in Kenninghall in the county of Norfolk*.

We are told that at this period the care of the king was intrusted to a female empiric, whose charms or medicines, instead of alleviating, aggravated his sufferings; and that his physicians, when they were recalled, pronounced him to be at the point of death†. The report originated probably with those who afterwards accused Northumberland of having taken the life of his sovereign. However that may be, on the first of July the duke pretended to entertain hopes of his recovery: on the sixth of the same month the king expired in the evening. The event had long been expected by the nation, and the vengeance of the council had already visited with stripes and imprisonment several offenders, both male and female, who had prematurely announced the intelligence‡.

It would be idle to delineate the character of a prince, who lived not till his passions could develop themselves, or his faculties acquire maturity§. His education, like

* Strype, ii. 521. Hayward, 327.

† Hayward, ib. Heylin, 139. Rosso, 10.

‡ See several instances from the council book in Strype, ii. 428. On the first of July they wrote to the foreign ambassadors, "that his majesty was alive, whatsoever evil men did write or spread abroad: and, as they trusted and wished, his estate and towardness of recovery out of his sickness should shortly appear to the comfort of all good men." Strype, ii. 429.

§ One part of his education was likely to have strengthened his passions. No one was permitted to address him, not even his sisters, without kneeling to him. "I have seen," says Ubaldini, "the princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times before her brother, before she took her place." At dinner, if either of his sisters were permitted to eat with him, she sat on a stool and cushion, at a distance, beyond the limits of the royal dais. Ubaldini, apud Von Raumer, ii. 70. Even the lords and gentlemen who

that of his two sisters, began at a very early age. In abilities he was equal, perhaps superior to most boys of his years; and his industry and improvement amply repaid the solicitude of his tutors. But the extravagant praise which has been lavished on him by his panegyrists and admirers must be received with some degree of caution. In the French and Latin letters, to which they appeal, it is difficult to separate the composition of the pupil from the corrections of the master*; and since, to raise his reputation, deceptions are known to have been employed on some occasions, it may be justifiable to suspect that they were practised on others. The boy of twelve or fourteen years was accustomed to pronounce his opinion in the council with all the gravity of a hoary statesman. But he had been previously informed of the subjects to be discussed; his preceptors had supplied him with short notes, which he committed to memory; and, while he delivered their sentiments as his own, the lords, whether they were aware or not of the artifice, admired and applauded the precocious wisdom with which heaven had gifted their sovereign†.

Edward's religious belief could not have been the result of his own judgment. He was compelled to take it on trust from those about him, who moulded his infant mind to their own pleasure, and infused into it their own opinions or prejudices. From them he de-

brought in the dishes before dinner, were bareheaded, and knelt down before they placed them on the table. This custom shocked the French ambassador and his suite: for in France the office was confined to pages, who bowed only, and did not kneel. See the *Mémoires de Vieilleville*, Mem. xxviii 319

* These letters may be seen in Fuller, l. vii. p. 423. Hearne's *Titus Livius*, 115, and *Strype* ii. App. 162. Perhaps the character given of him by Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador, in 1551, approaches nearest to the truth. "He is of good disposition, and fills the country with the best expectations, because he is handsome, graceful, of proper size, shows an inclination to generosity, and begins to wish to understand what is going on; and in the exercise of the mind, and the study of languages, appears to excel his companions. He is 14 years of age. This is what I am able to state about him." MS at Greystoke Castle.

† See *Strype*, ii. 104. From a document in Raumer it appears, that Northumberland was also accustomed to prepare the king for the discussion of subjects beforehand. iii 79

rived a strong sense of piety, and a habit of daily devotion, a warm attachment to the new, and a violent antipathy to the ancient doctrines. He believed it to be the first of his duties to extirpate what he had been taught to deem the idolatrous worship of his fathers; and with his last breath he wafted a prayer to heaven for the preservation of his subjects from the infection of "papisty*." Yet it may be a question whether his early death has not proved a benefit to the church of England, as it is at present established. His sentiments, like those of his instructors, were tinged with Calvinism; attempts were made to persuade him that episcopacy was an expensive and unnecessary institution; and the courtiers, whose appetite for church property had been whetted rather than satisfied by former spoliations, looked impatiently towards the entire suppression of the bishoprics and chapters†. Of the possessions belonging to these establishments, one half had already been seized by the royal favourites: in the course of a few years their rapacity would have devoured the remainder‡.

* Foxe, ii. 130.

† On this subject the reader will be amused with the disinterested advice of Hobey. In a letter of the 19th of January, 1549, he tells the protector, that the foreign protestants "have good hopes, and pray earnestly therefore, that the king's majesty will appoint unto the good bishops an honest and competent living, sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the rest of their worldly possessions and dignities, and thereby avoid the vain glory that letteth them truly and sincerely to do their duty." From the bishops he proceeds to the chapters. He had been told that 1500 horsemen had mustered at Brussels to meet the prince of Spain: which, he adds, "when I heard, remembering what great service such a number of chosen men were able to do, specially in our country, wherein is so much lack of good horsemen, it caused me to declare, under your grace's correction, what I thought; earnestly to wish with all my heart that, standing with the king's majesty's pleasure and your prudence, all the prebends within England were converted to the like use, for the defence of our country, and the maintenance of honest poor gentlemen." Apud Strype, ii. 98.

‡ By the extortion of grants and exchanges the incomes of the richer bishoprics were reduced about two-thirds, those of the poorer about one half; and on the other hand eighteen free schools were founded, the endowments of which amounted to 360*l.* per annum. Strype, ii. 535. Rec. 159. I may add, that in a patent for the exchange of lands to the bishop of Bath and Wells, are mentioned not only the lands, but also *nativi, et native, et villani cum eorum sequelis.* Id. 554. So long did villenage continue in England.

The governors and counsellors of the young king were so occupied with plans of personal aggrandizement, and the introduction of religious reform, that they could pay but little attention to the great objects of national polity. Under their care or negligence England was compelled to descend from the pre-eminence which she previously held among the nations of Europe; and her degradation was consummated at the conferences for the restoration of Boulogne, by the supercilious conduct of the French, and the tame acquiescence of the English ministers. For the advantage of commerce, the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the corporation of the Stilyard were abolished; and a little before the king's death an expedition was fitted out to discover a north-east passage to China and India. With this view a joint-stock company was formed, under the direction of Sebastian Cabote, son of Cabote the celebrated navigator: three stout ships were built at the cost of six thousand pounds; and sir Hugh Willoughby, a brave and experienced soldier, but probably no sailor, was intrusted with the chief command. Off the northern extremity of Norway, this little fleet was dispersed by a violent storm. Challoner, the second in command, continued his course alone, keeping in sight of the land, till he entered an immense estuary, now called the White Sea, and found an asylum for the winter in the port of Archangel, whence he traversed Russia to Moscow, and, having been favourably received by the emperor Iwan Wasilejevitch, returned to Archangel, and thence to England, with a letter from the Czar to the king of England. Of Challoner's former companions we know nothing more than that they reached the shore of Nova Zembla, and afterwards landed somewhere on the coast of Russian Lapland, where they afterwards perished.

Within the realm poverty and discontent generally prevailed. The extension of enclosures, and the new practice of letting lands at rack rents, had driven from their homes numerous families, whose fathers had occupied the same farms for several generations; and the

increasing multitudes of the poor began to resort to the more populous towns in search of that relief, which had been formerly distributed at the gates of the monasteries *. Nor were the national morals improved, if we may judge from the portraits drawn by the most eminent of the reformed preachers. They assert that the sufferings of the indigent were viewed with indifference by the hard-heartedness of the rich ; that in the pursuit of gain the most barefaced frauds were avowed and justified ; that robbers and murderers escaped punishment by the partiality of juries, and the corruption of judges ; that church livings were given to laymen, or converted to the use of the patrons ; that marriages were repeatedly dissolved by private authority ; and that the haunts of prostitution were multiplied beyond measure †. How far credit should be given to such representations, may perhaps be doubtful. Declamations from the pulpit are not the best historical evidence. Much in them must be attributed to the exaggeration of zeal, much to the affectation of eloquence. Still, when these deductions have been made, when the invectives of Knox and Lever, of Gilpin and Latimer, have been reduced by the standard of reason and experience, enough will remain to justify the conclusion, that the change of religious polity, by removing many of the former restraints upon vice, and enervating the authority of the spiritual courts, had given a bolder front to licentiousness, and opened a wider scope to the indulgence of criminal passion.

* Thus Lever exclaims : " O merciful Lord ! what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling catiffs mixed among them, lie and creep, begging in the miry streets of London "and Westminster." Strype, ii. 449.

† The industry of Strype has collected several passages on these subjects from the old preachers, 369. 438—450.

CHAPTER II.

M A R Y.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Emper. of Ger.</i>	<i>Q. of Scotland.</i>	<i>K. of France.</i>	<i>K. of Spain.</i>
Charles V. 1553. Ferdinand.	Mary.	Henry II.	Charles V. 1550. Philip II.
<i>Popes.</i>			
Julius III. 1555. Marcellus II. 1555. Paul IV.			

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed Queen—The Lady Mary is acknowledged—Her Questions to the Emperor Charles—Execution of Northumberland—Misconduct of Courtenay—Queen seeks to restore the ancient Service—Elizabeth conforms—Cranmer opposes—Parliament—Intrigues of Noailles—Insurrection of Wyatt—Failure and Punishment of the Conspirators—Elizabeth and Courtenay in disgrace—Treaty of Marriage between Mary and Philip—Reconciliation with Rome.

THE declining health of Edward had attracted the notice of the neighbouring courts: to the two rival sovereigns, Charles V. of Germany, and Henry II. of France, it offered a new subject of political intrigue. The presumptive heir to the sick king was his sister Mary, a princess who, ever since the death of her father, had been guided by the advice, and under persecution had been protected by the remonstrances, of the emperor. Gratitude, as well as consanguinity, must attach her to the interests of her benefactor and relative: probably she would, in the event of her succession, throw the power of England into the scale against the pretensions of France: it was even possible that partiality to the father might induce her to accept the son for her husband.

band. On these accounts both princes looked forward with considerable solicitude to the approaching death of Edward, and the result of the plot contrived by the ambition of Northumberland.

Charles had despatched from Brussels, Montmorency, June Marnix, and Renard, as ambassadors extraordinary to
23. the English court. They came under the pretence of visiting the infirm monarch; but the real object was to watch the proceedings of the council, to study the resources of the different parties, to make friends for the lady Mary, and, as far as prudence would allow, to promote her succession to the throne*.

The same reasons which induced the emperor to favour, urged the king of France to oppose, the interest of Mary. Aware of the design of his rival, Henry despatched to London the bishop of Orleans, and the chevalier de Gye, with instructions to counteract the attempts of the imperial envoys: but the slow progress of these ministers was anticipated by the industry and address of Noailles, the resident ambassador, who, though he would not commit his sovereign by too explicit an avowal of his sentiments, readily offered to the council the aid of France, if foreigners should attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the realm. The hint was sufficient. Northumberland saw that he had nothing to fear, but every thing to hope, from the policy of the French monarch†.

July It was on the evening of the sixth of July that Edward
6. expired at Greenwich. With the view of concealing his death for some days from the knowledge of the public‡, the guards had been previously doubled in the palace, and all communication interceded between his chamber and the other apartments. Yet that very night, while the

* From their instructions in the collection of the papers of the ambassador Renard, in the library of Besançon, tom. iii. fol. 1, it appears that they were sent "devers le R. d' Angleterre, notre cousine la princesse, le duc de Northumberland, et seigneurs du conseil."

† Ambassador de Moss. de Noailles, ii. 45. 50. 53.

‡ See Alford's letter to Cecil, Strype, iv. 343.

lords sat in deliberation, the secret was communicated to Mary by a note from the earl of Arundel, unfolding the design of the conspirators. She was then at Hoddesdon, in the neighbourhood of London, and, had she hesitated, would by the next morning have been a prisoner in the Tower. Without losing a moment she mounted her horse, and rode with the servants of her household to Kenninghall, in Norfolk*.

The council broke up after midnight; and Clinton, the lord admiral, took possession of the Tower, with the royal treasures, the munitions of war, and the prisoners of state. The three next days were employed in making such previous arrangements as were thought necessary for the success of the enterprise. While the death of Edward was yet unknown, the officers of the guards and July of the household, the lord mayor, six aldermen, and 8. twelve of the principal citizens, were summoned before the council. All were informed of the recent settlement of the crown, and required to take an oath of allegiance to the new sovereign; the latter were dismissed with an injunction not to betray the secret, and to watch over the tranquillity of the city. On the fourth morning it was determined to publish the important intelligence; and the chief of the lords, attended by a numerous escort, rode to Sion house, to announce to the lady Jane her succession to the throne of her royal cousin.

Jane has been described to us as a young woman of gentle manners, and superior talents, addicted to the study of the scriptures and the classics, but fonder of dress than suited the austere notions of the reformed preachers. Of the designs of the duke of Northumberland in her favour, and of the arts by which he had deceived the simplicity of Edward, she knew nothing; nor had she suffered the dark and mysterious predictions of the duchess to make any impression on her

* Noyelles, 56

mind: Her love of privacy had induced her to solicit, what in the uncertain state of the king's health was readily granted, permission to leave London, and to spend a few days at Chelsea: she was indulging herself in this retirement, when she received by the lady Sydney, her husband's sister, an order from the council to return immediately to Sion house, and to await there the commands of the king. She obeyed; and the next morning was visited by the duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, and the earls of Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. At first, the conversation turned on indifferent subjects, but there was in their manner an air of respect, which awakened some uneasiness in her mind, and seemed to explain the hints already given to her by her mother-in-law. Soon afterwards that lady entered, accompanied by the duchess of Suffolk, and the marchioness of Northampton; and the duke, addressing the lady Jane, informed her that the king her cousin was dead: that before he expired, he had prayed to God to preserve the realm from the infection of papistry, and the misrule of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth; that, on account of their being bastards, and by act of parliament incapable of the succession, he had resolved to pass them by, and to leave the crown in the right line; and that he had therefore commanded the council to proclaim her, the lady Jane, his lawful heir, and in default of her and her issue, her two sisters Catherine and Mary. At the words the lords fell on their knees, declared that they took her for their sovereign, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in support of her right. The reader may easily conceive the agitation of spirits which a communication so important and unlooked for was likely to create in a young woman of timid habits and delicate health. She trembled, uttered a shriek, and sunk to the ground. On her recovery she observed to those around her, that she seemed to herself a very unfit person to be a queen: but that, if the right were hers, she trusted God would give

her strength to wield the sceptre to his honour and the benefit of the nation.

Such is the account of this transaction given by Jane herself, in a letter from the Tower to queen Mary *. The feelings which she describes are such as we might expect; surprise at the annunciation, grief for the death of her royal cousin, and regret to quit a station in which she had been happy. But modern writers have attributed to her much, of which she seems to have been ignorant herself. The beautiful language which they put into her mouth, her forcible reasoning in favour of the claim of Mary, her philosophic contempt of the splendour of royalty, her refusal to accept a crown which was not her right, and her reluctant submission to the commands of her parents, must be considered as the fictions of historians, who, in their zeal to exalt the character of the heroine, seem to have forgotten that she was only sixteen years of age.

About three in the afternoon, the young queen was conducted by water to the Tower, the usual residence of our kings preparatory to their coronation. She made her entry in state. Her train was borne by her mother, the duchess of Suffolk; the lord treasurer presented her with the crown; and her relations saluted her on their knees. At six the same evening, the heralds proclaimed the death of Edward and the succession of Jane; and a printed instrument with her signature was circulated, to

* "Le quali cose, tosto ch  con infinito dolore dell' animo mio hebbi intese, quanto io restasse fuor di me stordita, e sbattuta, ne lascero' testimoniare   quei Signori, i quali si trovarono presenti, ch  sopraggiunta da subita e non aspettata doglia, mi videro in terra cadere, molto dolorosamente piangendo: E dichiarando poi loro l' insufficienza mia, forte mi rammargiai de la morte d' un si nobile principe, e insieme mi risolsi a Dio, humilmente pregandolo, e supplicandolo, ch  se quello che m'era dato, era dirittamente e legittimamente mio, S.D.M. mi donasse tanta grazia e spirito, ch'io il potesse governare, a gloria sua, e servizio, e utile di questo reame." From her letter of confession to Mary in August soon after her committal to the Tower. The original in English has probably perished; but we have two different translations of it in Italian, one by Rosso in his "Successi d' Inghilterra dopo la morte di Odoardo sesto," published in Ferrara as early as 1560; and another by Pollini in his *Historia Eccl: della Rivoluzione d' Inghilterra*, in Roma, 1564.

acquaint the people with the grounds of her claim. It alleged, 1°. That though the succession, by the 35th of Henry VIII. stood limited to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, yet neither of them could take any thing under that act, because, by a previous statute of the 28th of the same reign, which still remained in force, both daughters had been pronounced bastards, and incapable of inheriting the crown; 2°. That even, had they been born in lawful wedlock, they could have no claim to the succession after Edward, because being his sisters only by the half blood, they could not inherit from him according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm; 3°. That the fact of their being single women ought to be a bar to their claim, as by their subsequent marriages they might place the sovereign power in the hands of a foreign despot, who would be able to subvert the liberties of the people, and to restore the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; 4°. That these considerations had moved the late king to limit, by his letters patent, the inheritance of the crown in the first place to the lawful issue of the duchess of Suffolk*, her male issue, if any were born to her during his life, otherwise to her daughters and their issue in succession, and after them to the daughter of the late countess of Cumberland, sister to the said duchess, and to her issue, inasmuch as the said ladies were nigh to him of blood, and “naturally born within the realm;” 5°. And that therefore the lady Jane, the eldest daughter of the duchess of Suffolk, had now taken upon herself, as belonging to her of right, the government of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and of all their dependencies†. To the arguments contained

* As the duchess of Suffolk was still living, how happened it that the king should overlook her, to leave the crown to her daughter. It evidently entered into the plan of Northumberland to suppress her claims, and probably his argument to Edward was that she had been omitted in his father's will, though her issue had been expressly named. It was differently with respect to the elder branch, the descendants of the queen of Scots. They had been omitted altogether.

† Noailles, ii. 62. Burnet, ii. rec. 239. Somer's Tracts, i. 174. The heads of this instrument are taken out of the will of Edward VI. which is published in Howell's State Trials—i. 754; but the line respecting the

in this laboured proclamation the people listened in ominous silence. They had so long considered Mary the presumptive heir, that they did not comprehend how her claim could be defeated by any pretensions of a daughter of the house of Suffolk. Not a single voice was heard in approbation; a vintner's boy had the temerity to express his dissent, and the next day paid the forfeit of his folly with the loss of his ears*.

The following morning arrived at the Tower a messenger from Mary, the bearer of a letter to the lords, in which, assuming the style and tone of their sovereign, she upbraided them with their neglect to inform her of the death of her brother, hinted her knowledge of their disloyal intention to oppose her right, and commanded them, as they hoped for favour, to proclaim her accession immediately in the metropolis, and as soon as possible, in all other parts of the kingdom†.

This communication caused no change in their counsels, awakened no apprehension in their minds. Mary was a single and defenceless female, unprepared to vindicate her right, without money, and without followers. *They* had taken every precaution to ensure success. The exercise of the royal authority was in their hands; the royal treasures were at their disposal; the guards had sworn obedience; a fleet of twenty armed vessels lay in the river; and a body of troops had been assembled in the Isle of Wight, ready at any moment to execute their

jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome was an interpolation. The words, "born within the realm," were added to exclude the Scottish line.

* The vintner's boy was nailed to the pillory by the ears, both of which were amputated before he could be released. Holins. 1065.

† The following is her proclamation:—

"Marie, the Queene,

"Knowe ye, all the good subjects of this realme, that yor most noble prince, yor soveraign Lord and King, Edward the vijth is upon thurs- day last being the vijth of July dep'ted this worlde to Godes mercie. "And that now the most excellent prince, his sister Marie, by the grace of God ys Que-ne of E. and Y. and verie owner of the crowne, govern- ment and tytle of E. and Y. and all things thereunto belonging, to "Godes glory, the honor of the royalm of England, and all yor com- "fortes. And her Highness ys not fled thys royalm, ne intendethe to "do, as ys most untruly surmised." Gage's Hengrave, 143.

orders. Depending on their own resources, contrasted with the apparent helplessness of their adversary, they
 July 12. affected to dread her flight more than her resistance, and returned an answer under the signatures of the archbishop, the chancellor, and twenty-one councillors, requiring her to abandon her false claim, and to submit as a dutiful subject to her lawful and undoubted sovereign*.

In a few hours the illusion vanished. The mass of the people knew little of the lady Jane, but all had heard of the ambition of Northumberland. His real object, it was said, was now unmasked. To deprive the late king of his nearest relatives and protectors, he had persuaded Somerset to take the life of the lord admiral, and Edward to take that of Somerset. The royal youth was the next victim. He had been removed by poison to make place for the lady Jane†, who, in her turn, would be compelled to yield the crown to Northumberland himself. These reports were circulated and believed, and the public voice, wherever it might be expressed with impunity, was unanimous in favour of Mary. The very day on which the answer to her letter had been despatched, brought the alarming intelligence

* Foxe, iii. 12. Strype, iii. rec. 3. The emperor was equally persuaded of her inability to contend with the council, and on the 28th of June advised her to offer them a pardon for all past offences, and to consent, if they required it, that they should hold the same offices under her, and that no change should be made in the establishment of religion. Renard's MSS. folio 6. But when he learned that she meant to fight for her right, he exhorted her to persevere: puisqu'elle s'y est mise si avant, qu'elle perde la crainte, évite de la donner à ceux qui sont de son côté, et qu'elle passe tout outre. Ibid. fol. 22.

† This opinion was so general, that the emperor, Aug. 23, wrote to the queen that she ought to put to death all the conspirators who had any hand in "the death" of the late king. Renard apud Griffet, xi. Renard's despatches are in three volumes in the library at Besançon; but the more interesting of those respecting Mary were selected from the third volume and communicated to Griffet, the author of the valuable notes to the best edition of Daniel's History of France. From them Griffet compiled, in a great measure, his "Nouveaux Eclaircissemens sur l'Histoire de Marie Reine d'Angleterre." 12mo. Amst. et Paris. 1766, of which an English translation was published under the title of "New Lights thrown upon the History of Mary, Queen of England," 8vo. London, 1771. The papers employed by Griffet were never replaced; but those which remain bear abundant testimony to his accuracy and fidelity.

that she was already joined by the earls of Bath and Sussex *, and by the eldest sons of the lords Wharton and Mordaunt; that the gentlemen of the neighbouring counties were hastening to her aid with their tenants and dependents; and that in a short time a numerous and formidable army would be embattled under her banners †. Northumberland saw the necessity of despatch: but how could he venture to leave the capital, where his presence awed the disaffected, and secured the co-operation of his colleagues? He proposed to give the command of the forces to the duke of Suffolk, whose affection for his daughter was a pledge of his fidelity, and whose want of military experience might be supplied by the knowledge of his associates. But he could not deceive the secret partisans of Mary, who saw his perplexity, and to liberate themselves from his control, urged him to take the command upon himself. They praised his skill, his valour, and his good fortune; they exaggerated the insufficiency of Suffolk, and the consequences to be apprehended from a defeat; and they prevailed upon Jane, through anxiety for her father, to unite with them in their entreaties to Northumberland. He gave a tardy and reluctant consent. When he took July leave of his colleagues he exhorted them to fidelity with 13. an earnestness which betrayed his apprehensions; and, as he rode through the city at the head of the troops, he remarked, in a tone of despondency, to sir John Gates, "The people crowd to look upon us: but not one ex-claims, God speed ye ‡."

From the beginning the duke had mistrusted the fidelity of the citizens: before his departure he requested the aid of the preachers, and exhorted them to appeal from the pulpit to the religious feelings of their hearers.

* Mary granted to the earl of Sussex a license to wear "his cap, coif, or night-cap, or two of them at his pleasure, in the royal presence, or in the presence of any other person." Oct. 2, Heylin's Mary, 190.

† "Certain noblemen, knights, and gentlemen come to her to mayntayn her title, with also innumerable companies of the common people." Gage's Hengrave, 143.

‡ Godwin, 106. Stowe, 610, 611.

By no one was the task performed with greater zeal than by Ridley, bishop of London, who, on the following July Sunday, preached at St. Paul's cross before the lord 16. mayor, the aldermen, and a numerous assemblage of the people. He maintained that the daughters of Henry VIII. were, by the illegitimacy of their birth, excluded from the succession. He contrasted the opposite characters of the present competitors, the gentleness, the piety, the orthodoxy of the one, with the haughtiness, the foreign connexions, and the popish creed of the other. As a proof of Mary's bigotry, he narrated a chivalrous but unsuccessful attempt, which he had made within the last year, to withdraw her from the errors of popery*; and in conclusion, he conjured the audience, as they prized the pure light of the gospel, to support the cause of the lady Jane, and to oppose the claim of her idolatrous rival. But the torrent of his eloquence was poured in vain. Among his hearers there were many indifferent to either form of worship. Of the rest, the protestants had not yet learned that religious belief could affect hereditary right; and the catholics were confirmed by the bishop's arguments, in their adhesion to the interests of Mary†.

- That princess, to open a communication with the emperor in Flanders, had unexpectedly left Kenninghall; and, riding forty miles without rest, had reached, on the 14. same evening, the castle of Framlingham. There her hopes were hourly cheered with the most gratifying intelligence. The earl of Essex, the lord Thomas Howard, the Jerninghams, Bedingfelds, Sulyards, Pastons, and most of the neighbouring gentlemen successively arrived, with their tenants, to fight under her standard‡. Sir Edward Hastings, sir Edmund Peckham, and sir Ro-

* See note (A).

† *Concionatores, quos bene multos Londini constituit, nihil profecerunt: imo ne quidem egregius ille doctrina viraque sanctitate vir Ridleus episcopus æquis auribus auditus est. Utinam vir optimus hac in re lapsus non fuisset.* Godwin, 106. See Stowe, ii. 611. Burnet, 233. Heylin, 184. Holmshed, 1039.

‡ See note (B).

bert Drury, had levied ten thousand men in the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, Berks, and Middlesex, and purposed to march from Drayton for Westminster and the palace; her more distant friends continued to send her presents of money, and offers of service; Henry Jerningham prevailed on a hostile squadron, of six sail, which had reached the harbour of Yarmouth, to acknowledge her authority; and a timely supply of arms and ammunition from the ships relieved the more urgent wants of her adherents. In a few days Mary was surrounded by more than thirty thousand men, all volunteers in her cause, who refused to receive pay, and served through the sole motive of loyalty*.

In this emergency, doubt and distrust seem to have July unnerved the mind of Northumberland, who had 17. marched from Cambridge, in the direction of Framlingham, accompanied by his son the earl of Warwick, by the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, and the lord Grey. With an army of eight thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, inferior, indeed, in number to his opponents, but infinitely superior in military appointments and discipline, he might, by a bold and immediate attack, have dispersed the tumultuary force of the royalists, and have driven Mary across the sea, to the court of her imperial cousin. But he saw, as he advanced, the enthusiasm of the people in her cause; he heard that he had been proclaimed a rebel, and that a price had been fixed on his head†; and

* Noailles, ii. 94. She, however, gave orders that "where the captains perceived any soldier wanting money, his captain should relieve him, "but in such sort, that it appeared not otherwise but to be of his own liberality." Journal of council in Haynes, 157.

† "As-uring ail and everie her said subjects on the word of a rightful queene, that whosoever taketh and bringeth the said duke unto her presence, shall, if he be a nobleman and peer of the realme, have 1000 pounds in land to him and his heirs; likewise, if he be a knight, 500 pounds lands to him and his heirs, with the honour and advancement to nobilitie; and also, if the same taker and bringer be a gentleman under the degree of a knight, 500 marks land to him and his heirs, and the degree of a knight; and, if the said taker and bringer be a yeoman, 100 pounds lands to him and his heirs and the degree of a squire." From the original in possession of Sir Henry Bedingfeld.

he feared that sir Edward Hastings would, in a few days, cut off his communication with the capital. At Bury his heart failed him. He ordered a retreat to Cambridge, and wrote to the council for a numerous and immediate reinforcement. The men perceived the irresolution of their leader; their ignorance of his motives gave birth to the most disheartening reports; and their ranks were hourly thinned by desertion.

- July 18. In the council there appeared no diminution of zeal, no want of unanimity. It was resolved to send for a body of mercenaries, which had been raised in Picardy, to issue commissions for the levying of troops in the vicinity of the metropolis*, and to offer eight crowns per month, besides provisions, to volunteers. But, as such tardy expedients did not meet the urgency of the case, the lords proposed to separate, and hasten to the army, at the head of their respective friends and dependents. Though Suffolk had been instructed to detain them within the walls of the Tower, he either saw not their object, or dared not oppose their pleasure. The next morning the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir John Mason, left the fortress under the pretence of receiving the French ambassador at Baynard's castle, a fitter place, it was said, for that purpose than the Tower†.

There they were joined by the lord mayor, the recorder, and a deputation of aldermen, who had been summoned by a trusty messenger; and the discussion was opened by the earl of Arundel, who, in a set speech, declaimed against the ambition of Northumberland, and asserted the right of the two daughters of Henry VIII. The moment he had finished, the earl of Pembroke

* Some of them may be seen in Strype, iii. rec. p. 4., in his Cranmer, App. 163, and in Hearne's Sylloge, ep. 121.

† Strype, iv. 349. Yet that very morning they had signed a letter to lord Rich, thanking him for his services in favour of Jane. (Strype's Cranmer, App. 164.) Did they not know that he had already transferred them to Mary? Haynes, i. 159.

drew his sword, exclaiming, "If the arguments of my "lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this sword shall "make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel." He was answered with shouts of approbation, and Suffolk, who had been sent for, signed with the others the proclamation of Mary. The whole body then rode in procession through the city. At St. Paul's cross the earl of Pembroke proclaimed the new queen amidst the deafening acclamations of the populace. Te Deum was sung in the cathedral; beer, wine, and money were distributed among the people; and the night was ushered in with bonfires, illuminations, and the accustomed demonstrations of public joy*.

While the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget carried the intelligence of this revolution to Framlingham, the earl of Pembroke, with his company of the guard, took possession of the Tower. The next morning the lady Jane departed to Sion house. Her reign had lasted but nine days; and they had been days of anxiety and distress. She had suffered much from her own apprehensions of an unfortunate result, more from the displeasure of her husband, and the imperious humour of his mother†. The moment she was gone, the lords,

* Godwin, 107, 108. Stowe, 612. King's MSS. xvii. A. ix. Rosso, 20. Their letter to the queen is in Strype's *Cranmer*, App. 106.

† The quarrel arose from the ambition of Guilford. After a long discussion, Jane consented to give him the crown by act of parliament; but, when she was left to herself, she repented of her facility, and informed him that she would make him a duke, but not king. In his anger he abstained from her company and her bed, and threatened to go back to Sion house: the duchess chided and upbraided her, till she grew so alarmed, as to persuade herself they had given her poison. "Dissi loro, ch'è se la corona s'aspiava à me, io sarei contenta di fare il mio marito Duca, ma non consentirei mai di farlo Rè. La qual mia risoluzione, recò à sua madre (essendole riferito questo mio pensiero) grand' occasione di collora, e di sdegno, dimanierachè adirandosi ella meco molto malamente, e sdegnosamente forte, persuase al suo figliuolo che non dormisse più meco, sic me egli fece; affermandomi pure ch'è non volea in guisa veruna esser duca ma Rè. . . . Nel rimanente, io per me non sò quello ch' l' consiglio havessu determinato di fare, ma sò ben di certo, ch'è due volte in questo tempo m'è stato dato il veleno, la prima f' in casa la Duchessa di Northumberland, e di poi qu' in Torre, sì come io u' ho ottimi e certissimi testimoni, oltrechè, da quel tempo in quà, mi son caduti tutti i peli d'addosso. E tutte queste cose l' ho volute dire, per testimonianza dell' innocenzia mia, e scario della mia coscienza." Pollini, p. 357, 358. Rosso 56.

without any distinction of party, united in sending an order to Northumberland to disband his forces, and to acknowledge Mary for his sovereign. But he had already taken the only part which prudence suggested. Sending for the vice-chancellor, Dr. Sands, who, on the preceding Sunday, had preached against the daughters of Henry, he proceeded to the market-place, where, with tears of grief running down his cheeks, he proclaimed the lady Mary, and threw his cap into the air in token of joy. During the night he was prevented
 July 22. from making his escape by the vigilance of his own men; and on the following morning he was arrested on a charge of high treason, by the earl of Arundel, and conducted, with several of his associates, to the Tower. It required a strong guard to protect the prisoners from the vengeance of the populace*.

The lady Elizabeth had taken no part in this contest. To a messenger, indeed, from Northumberland, who offered her a large sum of money, and a valuable grant of lands, as the price of her voluntary renunciation of all right to the succession, she replied, that she had no right to renounce, as long as her elder sister was living. But, if she did not join the lady Jane, she did nothing in aid of the lady Mary. Under the excuse of a real or feigned indisposition, she confined herself to her chamber, that, whichever party proved victorious, she might claim the negative merit of non-resistance. Now, however, the contest was at an end: the new queen approached her capital; and Elizabeth deemed it prudent to court the favour of the conqueror. At the head of a
 31. hundred and fifty horse, she met her at Aldgate. They

* Stowe, 612. Godwin, 109. The number of prisoners for trial was twenty-seven—the dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*; the marquess of *Northampton*; the earls of *Huntingdon* and *Warwick*; the lords *Robert, Henry, Ambrose*, and *Guilford Dudley*; the lady *Jane Dudley*; the bishops of *Canterbury, London*, and *Ely*; the lords *Ferrers, Clinton*, and *Cobham*; the judges *Montague* and *Cholmeley*, and the chancellor of the augmentations; *Andrew Dudley, John Gates, Henry Gates, Thomas Palmer, Henry Palmer, John Cheek, John York*, knights; and *Dr. Cocks. Haynes*, 192, 193. When this list was given to the queen, she struck out the names in italics, and reduced the number from twenty-seven to eleven.

rode together in triumphal procession through the streets, which were lined with the different crafts in their gayest attire. Every eye was directed towards the royal sisters. Those who had seen Henry VIII. and Catherine, could discover little in the queen, to remind them of the majestic port of her father, or of the beautiful features and graceful carriage of her mother. Her figure was short and small; the lines of care were deeply impressed on her countenance; and her dark piercing eyes struck with awe all those on whom they were fixed. In personal appearance Elizabeth had the advantage. She was in the bloom of youth, about half the age of the queen. Without much pretension to beauty, she could boast of agreeable features, large blue eyes, a tall and portly figure, and of hands, the elegant symmetry of which she was proud to display on every occasion*. As they passed, their ears were stunned with the acclamations of the people; when they entered the Tower, they found kneeling on the green, the state prisoners, the duchess of Somerset, the duke of Norfolk, the son of the late marquess of Exeter, and Tunstall and Gardiner, the deprived bishops of Durham and Winchester. The latter pronounced a short congratulatory address. Mary burst into tears, called them *her* prisoners, bade them rise, and having kissed them, gave them their liberty. The same day she ordered a dole to be distributed, of eight pence, to every poor householder in the city.

* They are thus described by the Venetian ambassador, in his official communication to the senate. The queen is *donna di statura piccola, di persona magra e delicata, dissimile in tutto al padre et alla madre. . . ha gli occhi tanto vir-i, che induceno non solo riverentia ma timore. Elisabeth e piu tosto graziosa che bella, di persona grande e ben formata, olivastro in complexione, belli occhi, e sopra tutto bella mano, della quale ne fa professione.* The writer was M. G^o. Michele, galantissimo e virtuosissimo gentiluomo, (Ep. Poli v. App. 349.) who, on his return to Venice, compiled an account of England, by order of the senate. It was read in that assembly, May 13, 1537. Mr. Ellis has published a translation from the copy in the British Museum, Nero. B. vii; but that copy is not so full as that in the Lansdowne MSS. pcccxl, or one in the possession of Henry Howard of Greystoke Castle, esq., or another in the Barberini Library, No. 1203, from which the quotations are taken.

In the appointment of her official advisers, the new queen was directed by necessity as much as choice. If the lords who, escaping from the Tower, had proclaimed her in the city, expected to retain their former situations, the noblemen and gentlemen who had adhered to her fortunes, when every probability was against her, had still more powerful claims on her gratitude. She sought to satisfy both classes, by admitting them into her council; and to these she successively added a few others, among whom the chief were the bishops Gardiner and Tunstall, who, under her father, had been employed in offices of trust, and had discharged them with fidelity and success. The acknowledged abilities of the former Aug. soon raised him to the post of prime minister. He first 23. received the custody of the seals, and was soon after- Sept. wards appointed chancellor*. The next to him, in 21. ability and influence in the council, was the lord Paget.

Though the queen found herself unexpectedly in debt from the policy of Northumberland, who had kept the officers and servants of the crown three years in arrear of their salaries†, she issued two proclamations, which drew upon her the blessings of the whole nation. Aug. By the first she restored a depreciated currency to its 30. original value, ordered a new coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns, angels and half-angels, of fine gold, and of silver groats, half-groats, and pennies of the standard purity; and charged the whole loss and expense to the treasury. By the other she remitted to her people, in gratitude for their attachment to her right, the subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods, which had been granted to the crown by the late parliament‡. As the time of her

* Noailles, ii. 123. Gardiner was peculiarly obnoxious to the French ministers, from the uncourteous manner in which, on two occasions, he had executed the harsh and imperious mandates of his master, Henry VIII. Noailles complains, that imprisonment had not tamed him. *Ibid.*

† Noailles, ii. 92. His object had been to attach them to his cause, through the fear of losing their arrears.

‡ Strype, iii. 8. 10. St. 1 Mary, c. xvii. Gage's Hengrave, 153. The sovereign was to pass at thirty, the angel at ten shillings. Noailles, 141.

coronation approached, the queen introduced, within the palace, an innovation highly gratifying to the younger branches of the female nobility, though it foreboded little good to the reformed preachers. Under Edward, their fanaticism had given to the court a sombre and funereal appearance. That they might exclude from it the pomps of the devil, they had strictly forbidden all richness of apparel, and every fashionable amusement. But Mary, who recollected with pleasure the splendid gaieties of her father's reign, appeared publicly in jewels and coloured silks; the ladies, emancipated from restraint, copied her example; and the courtiers, encouraged by the approbation of their sovereign, presumed to dress with a splendour that became their rank in the state*. A new impulse was thus communicated to all classes of persons; and considerable sums were expended by the citizens, in public and private decorations, preparatory to the coronation. That ceremony was performed after the ancient rite, by Gardiner, Sept. bishop of Winchester†, and was concluded in the usual 30. manner, with a magnificent banquet in Westminster hall‡. The same day a general pardon was proclaimed, with the exception, by name, of sixty individuals who had been committed to prison, or confined to their own houses, by order of council, for treasonable or seditious offences committed since the queen's accession.

* Elle a desja osté les *superstitions*, qui estoient par cydevant, que les femmes ne portassent dorures ni habillemens de couleur, estant elle meisme et beaucoup de sa compagnie, parées de dorures, et habillées à la Françoisé de robes à grandz manches. Noailles, ii. 104. Elle est l'une des dames du monde, qui prend maintenant autant de plaisir en habillemens, 146. Les mil-lords et jeunes seigneurs portent chausses autant exquises, soit de tholies et drapz d'or et broderies, que j'en aye peu veoir en France ne ailleurs (211). Thus also we are assured by Aylmer that, though Henry VIII. had left to his daughter Elizabeth rich clothes and jewels, "he knew it to be true that there never came gold or stone upon her head till her sister forced her to lay off her former soberness, and bear her company in her glittering gayness."

† "It was done royally, and such a multitude of people resorted out of all parties of the realme to se the same, that the like had not been seen before." Cont. of Fabyan. 537.

‡ -type, iii. .6. Stowe, 616. Holings. 1091. In the church Elizabeth carried the crown. She whispered to Noailles, that it was very heavy. "Be patient," he replied; "it will seem lighter when it is on your own head." Renard apud Griffet, xiii.

But though Mary was now firmly seated on the throne, she found herself without a friend to whom she could open her mind with freedom and safety. Among the leading members of her council there was not one who had not, in the reigns of her father or her brother, professed himself her enemy; nor did she now dare to trust them with her confidence, till she had assured herself of their fidelity. In this distress she had recourse to the prince who had always proved himself her friend, and who, she persuaded herself, could have no interest in deceiving her. She solicited the advice of the emperor on three very important questions; the punishment of those who had conspired to deprive her of the crown, the choice of her future husband, and the restoration of the ancient worship. It was agreed between them that the correspondence on these subjects should pass through the hands of the imperial ambassador, Simon de Renard, and that he, to elude suspicion, should live in comparative privacy, and very seldom make his appearance at court.

1°. To the first question Charles replied, that it was the common interest of sovereigns that rebellion should not go unpunished; but that she ought to blend mercy with justice; and, having inflicted speedy vengeance on the chief of the conspirators, to grant a free and unsolicited pardon to the remainder. In compliance with this advice, Mary had selected out of the list of prisoners
 July 20. seven only for immediate trial; the duke of Northumberland, the contriver and executor of the plot, his son the earl of Warwick, the marquess of Northampton, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, and sir Thomas Palmer, his principal counsellors and constant associates. It was in vain that the imperial ministers urged her to include the lady Jane in the number. Were she spared, the queen, they alleged, could never reign in security. The first faction that dared would again set her up as a rival. She had usurped the crown, and policy required that she should pay the forfeit of her presumption. But Mary under-

took her defence. She could not, she said, find in her heart or in her conscience to put her unfortunate cousin to death. Jane was not so guilty as the emperor believed. She had not been the accomplice of Northumberland, but merely a puppet in his hands. Neither was she his daughter-in-law ; for she had been validly contracted to another person, before she was compelled to marry Guilford Dudley. As for the danger arising from her pretensions it was but imaginary. Every requisite precaution might be taken before she was restored to liberty*.

For the trial of the three noblemen, the duke of Norfolk had been appointed high steward. When they were brought before their peers, Northumberland submitted to the consideration of the court the following questions : Could that man be guilty of treason who had acted by the authority of the council, and under the warrant of the great seal ; or could those persons sit in judgment upon him, who, during the whole proceedings, had been his advisers and accomplices ? It was replied, that the council and great seal of which he spoke were not those of the sovereign, but of an usurper † ; and that the lords to whom he alluded were able in law to sit as judges, so long as there was no record of attainder against them. In these answers he acquiesced, pleaded guilty, together with his companions, and petitioned the queen that she would commute his punishment into decapitation ; that mercy might be extended to his children who had acted under his direction ; that he might have the aid of an able divine to prepare himself for death ; and might be allowed to confer with two lords of the council on certain secrets of state, which had come to his knowledge while he was prime minister. To these requests Mary assented ‡.

* Renard apud Griffet, xi.

† It has lately been contended that Northumberland's question referred to the great seal affixed to Edward's new settlement of the succession, but that the judges, to avoid the difficulty of giving a direct answer, purposely mistook it for the great seal of lady Jane Grey. If this was so, it is marvellous that the duke took no notice of the mistake. In fact, however, he must have been aware that no great seal could be of force in his case, because the statute of the 35th of Henry VIII., c. 1, had made it high treason to do any act for the purpose of disturbing or interrupting the right of any person to the succession according to the provisions of that statute ; and chief justice Montague had refused to obey Edward's order to him under the great seal to draw a new settlement, unless he should be previously assured of a free pardon the moment that he had drawn it. See before, p. 101.

‡ Stowe, 614. Howell's State Trials, 765. Ross, 23. Persons (in his *Wardword*, p. 44) informs us that in consequence of the last request,

- Aug. Of the three lords, Northumberland alone, of the
 21. four commoners, who also pleaded guilty, sir JOHN Gates and sir Thomas Palmer were selected for execution. The morning before they suffered, they attended and communicated at a solemn mass in the Tower, in presence of several lords, and of the mayor and aldermen. On the scaffold a few words passed between
 22. Gates and the duke. Each charged the other with the origin of the conspiracy; but the altercation was conducted with temper, and they ended by reciprocally asking forgiveness. Northumberland, stepping to the rail, addressed the spectators. He acknowledged the justice of his punishment, but denied that he was the first projector of the treason. He called on them to witness that he was in charity with all mankind, that he died in the faith of his fathers, though ambition had induced him to conform in practice to a worship which he condemned in his heart, and that his last prayer was for the return of his countrymen to the catholic church: for, since their departure from it, England, like Germany had been a prey to dissensions, tumults, and civil war. Gates and Palmer suffered after the duke, each expressing similar sentiments, and soliciting the prayers of the beholders*.

2°. Under the reign of Edward, Mary had spontane-

Gardiner and another counsellor (the informer of Persons) visited him in the Tower. The duke earnestly petitioned for life, Gardiner gave him little hope, but promised his services. Returning to court, he entreated the queen to spare the prisoner, and had in a manner obtained her consent; but the opposite party in the cabinet wrote to the emperor, who by letter persuaded Mary "that it was not safe for her or the state to pardon his life." From Renard's despatches I have no doubt that this account is substantially correct. See also a letter from him to Arundel the night before his execution, in which he asks for life, "yea the life of a dogge, that he may but lyve and kiss the queen's feet," in Mr. Tierney's interesting "History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel," i. 333.

* If we may believe Foxe (iii. 13) Northumberland was induced to make this profession of his belief, by a delusive promise of pardon. He himself asserts the contrary. "I do protest to you, good people, earnestly, even from the bottom of my heart, that this, which I have spoken, is of myself, not being required nor moved thereto of any man, nor for any flattery, nor hope of life. And I take witness of my lord of Worcester here, my ghostly father, that he found me in this mind and opinion, when he came to me." Stowe, 616. Strype's Cranmer, App. 168. Indeed, he was known, in Edward's reign, to have no other religion than interest, and on one occasion spoke so contumeliously of the new service, that archbishop Cranmer, in a moment of zeal or passion, challenged him to a duel. *Ad duellum provocasset.* Parker, Ant. Brit. 341. "He offered to combat with the duke." *Morrice apud Strype, 430.*

ously preferred a single life: but, from the moment of her accession to the throne, she made no secret of her intention to marry. Of natives two only were proposed to her choice, both descended from the house of York, Cardinal Pole, and Courtenay, whom the queen had recently liberated from the Tower. The cardinal she respected for his talents and virtues, his advocacy of her mother's right, and his sufferings in her cause. But his age and infirmities forbade her to think of him for a husband*. Courtenay was young and handsome: his royal descent and unmerited imprisonment (for his character was unknown) had made him the favourite of the nation; and his mother, the countess of Exeter, was the individual companion and bed-fellow of the queen. Mary at first betrayed a partiality for the young man: she created him earl of Devon; she sought, by different artifices, to keep him near herself and his mother; and she made it her study to fashion his manners, which, during his confinement in the Tower, had been entirely neglected. The courtiers confidently predicted their marriage; and Gardiner promoted it with all the influence of his station. But if Courtenay had made any impression on the heart of the queen, it was speedily effaced by his misconduct. Having once tasted of liberty, he resolved to enjoy it without restraint. He frequented the lowest society; he spent much of his time in the company of prostitutes; and he indulged in gratifications disgraceful to his rank, and shocking to the piety and feelings of the queen. It was in vain that she commissioned a gentleman of the court to guide his inexperience; in vain that the French and Venetian ambassadors admonished him of the consequences of his folly; he scorned their advice, refused to speak to his monitor, and pursued his wild career, till he had entirely forfeited the esteem and favour of his sovereign. In public she

* Quant au Cardinal, je ne scay pas qui parle que la royne y eut opinion; car il n'est ne d'age, ne de sancté convenables à ce qu'elle demande, et qui luy est propre. Noailles, 207.

observed, that it was not for her honour to marry a subject; but to her confidential friends she attributed the cause to the immorality of Courtenay*.

The foreign princes, mentioned by the lords of the council, were the king of Denmark, the prince of Spain, the infant of Portugal, the prince of Piedmont, and the son of the king of the Romans. Mary, who had already asked the advice of the emperor, waited with impatience for his answer. It was obviously the interest of Charles that she should prefer his son Philip. His inveterate enemy, the king of France, was in possession of the young queen of Scots; within two or three years that princess would be married to the dauphin; and in all probability the crown of Scotland would be united to that of France. But if Charles had hitherto envied the good fortune of Henry, accident had now made him amends: the queen of England was a better match than the queen of Scotland; and, if he could persuade Mary to give her hand to Philip, that alliance would confer on him a proud superiority over his rival. He was, however, careful not to commit himself by too hasty an answer, and trusted for a while to the address and influence of Renard. That ambassador was admonished

Aug.
14. to consider this as the most important but most delicate point in his mission; to bear in mind that the inclination of a woman was more likely to be inflamed than extinguished by opposition; to draw to light, by distant questions and accidental remarks, the secret dispositions of the queen; to throw into his conversation occasional hints of the advantages to be derived from a foreign alli-

* Noailles, 111, 112, 147, 218, 220. Ceste Royne est en mauvaise opinion de luy, pour avoir entendu qu'il faict beaucoup de jeunesses, et mesme d'aller souvent avecques les femmes publiques et de mauvaise vie, et suivre d'autres compaignies sans regarder la gravité et rang qu'il doit tenir pour aspirer en si hault lieu. . . . Mais il est si mal aysé à conduire, qu'il ne veult croire personne, et comme celluy qui a demeuré toute sa vie dans une tour, se voyant maintenant jouyr d'une grande liberté il ne se peut saouler des delices d'icelle, n'ayant aulcune crainte des choses qu'on luy mette devant les yeulx. Ibid. 219, 320. I have transcribed these passages; because Hume, to account for the rejection of Courtenay, has given us a very romantic statement, for which he could have no better authority than his own imagination.

ance; and, above all, to commit no act, to drop no word, from which she might infer that he was an enemy to her marriage with Courtenay *. Renard obeyed his instructions: he watched with attention the successive steps by which that nobleman sunk in the royal estimation; and soon announced to his sovereign that Courtenay had no longer any hold on the affections of Mary †. Charles now ordered him to inform the queen that he approved of the reasons which had induced her to reject her young kinsman, and was sorry that the unambitious piety of cardinal Pole made him prefer the duties of a clergyman to the highest of worldly distinctions. Still perhaps she had no cause to regret the loss of either: a foreign prince would bring, as a husband, a firmer support to her throne; and, were it that his own age would allow him, he should himself aspire to the honour of her hand. He might, however, solicit in favour of others; nor could he offer to her choice one more dear to himself than his son, the prince of Spain. The advantages of such an union were evident: but let her not be swayed by his authority: she had only to consult her own inclination and judgment, and to communicate the result to him without fear or reserve ‡.

It was soon discovered by the courtiers that Philip had been proposed to the queen, and had not been rejected. The chancellor was the first to remonstrate with his sovereign. He observed to her that her people would more readily submit to the rule of a native than of a foreigner; that the arrogance of the Spaniards had rendered them odious in other nations, and would never

* Car si elle y avoit fantaisie, elle ne layroit, si elle est du naturel des autres femmes, de passer outre, et si se resentiroit à jamais de ce que vous lui en pourriez avoir dit. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 38.

† Veau par vos lettres qu'elle a si empressement rebouté Cortenay, aux divises qui passerent entre elle et l'eveque de Wincestre, lequel Cortenay toutefois estoit le plus apparent pour estre du sang royal. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 48. I may observe, as a proof of the emperor's industry, that he wrote all these despatches with his own hand.

‡ Nous ne voudrions choisir autre partie en ce monde que de nous aller nous mêmes avec elle.—Mais au lieu de nous, ne lui saurions mettre en avant personnage, qui nous soit plus cher que notre propre fils. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 49. Griffet, xiv.

be borne by Englishmen; that Philip by his haughty carriage had already earned the dislike of his own subjects; that such an alliance must be followed by perpetual war with the king of France, who would never consent that the Low Countries should be annexed to the English crown; and that the marriage could not be validly celebrated without a dispensation from the pope, whose authority was not yet acknowledged in the kingdom. Gardiner, who spoke the sentiments of the majority of the council, was followed by others of his colleagues: they were opposed by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget*.

Oct.
22.

On no persons did this intelligence make a deeper impression than on the French and Venetian ambassadors, who deemed it their duty to throw every obstacle in the way of a marriage which would so greatly augment the power of Spain. They secretly gave advice to Courtenay; they promised their influence to create a party in his favour; and they laboured to obtain in the ensuing parliament a declaration against the Spanish match. Noailles went even further. He intrigued with the discontented of every description; and, though it was contrary to the instructions of his sovereign, he endeavoured to propagate a notion, that the rightful heir to the crown was neither Mary, nor Elizabeth, nor Jane, but the young queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, daughter to the eldest sister of Henry VIII †.

* Noailles, i. 214. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 43. Griffet, xvi. xix. Par votre lettre du 23 nous avons entendu les persuasions dont ont usé les eveques de Wincestre, contreroleur, et autres nommés en votre lettre, pour incliner la volonte de la reine envers Cortenal. Il est apparent que ce doit être un jeu joué par les eveques de Wincestre, ayant reparti les arguments entre lui et les autres, pour plus efficacement faire cet office. Renard's MSS. fol. 70. Most of our historians represent Gardiner as the enemy of Courtenay, and the deviser of the Spanish match. It is, however, evident from the despatches of both ambassadors, that he was the friend of Courtenay, and the great opponent of the marriage. It must also have been so understood at the time: for Persons, who never saw those despatches, says, "Every child acquainted with that state knoweth or may learn, that B. Gardiner was of the contrary part or faction that favoured young Edward Courtenay, the earl of Devonshire, and would have had him to marry the queen." Wardword, 46.

† Noailles, 145. 157. 161. 164. 168. 194. 211. 221.

3°. That attachment to the ancient faith which Mary had shown during the reign of her brother, had not been loosened by the late unsuccessful attempt to identify the cause of rebellion with that of the Reformation. On her accession, she acquainted both the emperor and the king of France with her determination to restore the catholic worship. Henry applauded her zeal, and offered the aid of his forces, if it were necessary, towards the accomplishment of the work; but Charles advised her to proceed with temper and caution, and to abstain from any public innovation till she had obtained the consent of her parliament. It was in compliance with his wish that she suffered the archbishop to officiate according to the established form at the funeral of her brother in Westminster abbey: but a solemn dirge and high mass were chanted for him at the same time in the chapel of the Tower, in the presence of the nobility and courtiers, to the number of three hundred persons*. She issued no order for the public restoration of the ancient service: but she maintained that she had a right to worship God as she pleased within her own palace; and was highly gratified by the compliance of those who followed her example. The proceedings against the bishops, deprived in the last reign, were revised and reversed in a new court of delegates, held by the royal authority; and Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, and Day, recovered the possession of their respective sees. The real object of the queen could not remain a secret; the reformed preachers from the pulpit alarmed the zeal of their hearers; and the catholic clergy, trusting to the protection of the sovereign, feared not to transgress the existing laws. A riot was occasioned by the unauthorised celebration of mass in a church in the horse-

* Noailles, 103. 129. Griffet, xi. Non se trop haster avec zele—mais qu'elle s'accommode avec toute douceur se conformant aux definitions du parlement, sans rien faire toutefois de sa personne qui soit contre sa conscience, ayant seulement la messe à part en sa chambre—qu'elle attende jusques elle aye opportunité de rassembler parlement. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 24.

- market. The council reprimanded and imprisoned the priest; and the queen, sending for the lord mayor and aldermen, ordered them to put down all tumultuous assemblies. But the passions of the reformers had been excited; and the very next day the peace of the metropolis was interrupted by another ebullition of religious animosity. Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, had been appointed to preach at St. Paul's cross. In the course of his sermon he complained of the late innovations, and of the illegal deprivation of the catholic prelates. "Pull him down," suddenly exclaimed a voice in the crowd. The cry was echoed by several groups of women and children; and a dagger, thrown with considerable violence, struck one of the columns of the pulpit. Bourne, alarmed for his life, withdrew into St. Paul's church, under the protection of Bradford and Rogers, two of the reformed preachers.

- This outrage, evidently preconcerted, injured the cause which it was designed to serve. It furnished Mary with a pretext to forbid, after the example of the two last monarchs, preaching in public without license. The citizens were made responsible for the conduct of their children and servants; and the lord mayor was told to resign the sword into the hands of the sovereign, if he were unable to maintain the peace of the city*. A proclamation followed, in which the queen declared that she could not conceal her religion, which God and the world knew that she had professed from her infancy: but she had no intention to compel any one to embrace it till further order were taken by common consent; and therefore she strictly forbade all persons to excite sedition among the people, or to foment dissension by using the opprobrious terms of heretic or papist†.

The reformers now fixed their hopes on the constancy of the lady Elizabeth, the presumptive heir to the throne.

* Journal of council in *Archæologia*, xviii. 173, 174. Haynes, i. 168—170.

† Wick. Con. iv. 86.

They already considered her as the rival of the queen ; and it was openly said that it would not be more difficult to transfer the sceptre to her hands, than it had been to place it in those of Mary. On this account it had been proposed by some of the royal advisers, as a measure of precaution, to put Elizabeth under a temporary arrest : but Mary refused her assent, and rather sought to weaken her sister's interest with the reformers, by withdrawing her from the new to the ancient worship. For some time the princess resisted every attempt : but when she learned that her repugnance was thought to arise, not from motives of conscience, but from the persuasions of the factious, she solicited a private audience, threw herself on her knees, and excused her past obsti-^{Sept.} nacy, on the ground that she had never practised any ^{2.} other than the reformed worship, nor ever studied the articles of the ancient faith. Perhaps, if she were furnished with books, and aided by the instructions of divines, she might see her errors, and embrace the religion of her fathers. After this beginning, the reader will not be surprised to learn that her conversion was effected in the short course of a week. Mary now ^{8.} treated her with extraordinary kindness ; and Elizabeth, to prove her sincerity, not only accompanied her sister to mass, but opened a chapel in her own house, and ^{Dec.} wrote to the emperor for leave to purchase, in Flanders, ^{2.} a chalice, cross, and the ornaments usually employed in the celebration of the catholic worship*.

But the protestant cause was consoled for the defection of Elizabeth by the zeal of the archbishop. Cranmer had hitherto experienced the lenity of the queen. Though he had been the author of her mother's divorce, and one of the last to abandon the conspiracy of Northumberland, he had not been sent to the Tower, but received an order to confine himself to his palace at Lambeth. In this retirement he had leisure to mourn

* Compare the despatches of Noailles, 138. 141. 160. with those of Renard in Griffet, xi. xxiv

over the failure of his hopes, and to anticipate the abolition of that worship which he had so earnestly laboured to establish. But, to add to his affliction, intelligence was brought to him that the catholic service had been performed in his church at Canterbury; that by strangers this innovation was supposed to have been made by his order or with his consent; and that a report was circulated of his having offered to celebrate mass before the queen. Cranmer hastened to refute these charges by a public denial; and in a declaration which, while its boldness does honour to his courage, betrays by its asperity the bitterness of his feelings, asserted that the mass was the device and invention of the father of lies, who was even then persecuting Christ, his holy word, and his church; that it was not he, the archbishop, but a false, flattering, lying, and deceitful monk, who had restored the ancient worship at Canterbury; that he had never offered to say mass before the queen, but was willing, with her permission, to show that it contained many horrible blasphemies; and, with the aid of Peter Martyr, to prove that the doctrine and worship established under Edward was the same which had been believed and practised in the first ages of the Christian church*. Of this intemperate declaration several copies were dispersed, and publicly read to the

- Sept. 8. people in the streets. The council sent for the archbishop, and "after a long and serious debate committed him to the Tower, as well for the treason committed by him against the queen's highness, as for the aggravating the same his offence by spreading abroad seditious bills, and moving tumults to the disquietness of the present state." 13. A few days afterwards, Latimer, who probably had imitated the conduct of the metropolitan, was also sent to the same prison for "his seditious demeanour †."

To Julius III., the Roman pontiff, the accession of

* Strype's Cranmer, 305.

† Journal of council, in Archæol. xviii. 175. Haynes, i. 183, 184.

Mary had been a subject of triumph. Foreseeing the result, he immediately appointed cardinal Pole his legate to the queen, the emperor, and the king of France. But Pole hesitated to leave his retirement at Magguzzano, on the margin of the lake of Guarda, without more satisfactory information; and Dandino, the legate at Brussels, despatched to England a gentleman of his suite, Gianfrancesco Commendone, chamberlain to the pontiff. Commendone came from Gravelines to London in the character of a stranger, whose uncle was lately dead, leaving accounts of importance unsettled in England. For some days he wandered unknown through the streets, carefully noticing whatever he saw or heard; till chance brought him into the company of an old acquaintance of the name of Lee, then a servant in the royal household. Through him Commendone procured more than one interview with Mary, and carried from her the following message to the pope and the cardinal: Aug. that it was her most anxious wish to see her kingdom 25. reconciled with the holy see; that for this purpose she meant to procure the repeal of all laws trenching on the doctrine or discipline of the catholic church; that on the other hand she hoped to experience no obstacle on the part of the pontiff, or of her kinsman the papal representative; and that for the success of the undertaking it would be necessary to act with temper and prudence; to respect the prejudices of her subjects; and most carefully to conceal the least trace of any correspondence between her and the court of Rome*.

Such was the situation of affairs when Mary met her first parliament †. Both peers and commoners, accord- Oct. 5.

* Pallavicino, ii. 397. Quirini's collection of Pole's letters, iv. 111.

† Burnet has fallen into two errors, with respect to this parliament: 1st. That Nowel, representative for Loo, in Cornwall, was not allowed to sit, because, being a clergyman, he was *represented* in the convocation, whereas the reason stated, is, that *he had a voice* in the convocation. Journals, 27. 2d. That the lords *altered* the bill of tonnage and poundage. They objected, indeed, to two provisos; but the commons, instead of allowing them to be altered, withdrew the old, and introduced a new bill. Journals, 28, 29.

ing to the usage of ancient times, accompanied their sovereign to a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost; the chancellor in his speech to the houses, the speaker in his address to the throne, celebrated the piety, the clemency, and the other virtues of their sovereign; and her ears were repeatedly greeted with the loudest expressions of loyalty and attachment. The two objects, which at this moment she had principally at heart, were to remove from herself the stain of illegitimacy, and to restore to its former ascendancy the religion of her fathers. To the first she anticipated no objection; the second was an attempt of more doubtful result; not that her subjects, in general, were opposed to the ancient worship, but that they expressed a strong antipathy to the papal jurisdiction. The new service was, indeed, everywhere established; but it had been embraced through compulsion rather than conviction. Men felt for it little of that attachment, with which spontaneous proselytes are always inspired. Only four years had elapsed since its introduction; and their former habits, prepossessions, and opinions, pleaded in favour of a worship with which they had been familiarised from their infancy. But the supremacy of the pontiff appeared to them in a different light. Its exercise in England had been abolished for thirty years. The existing generation knew no more of the pope, his pretensions, or his authority, than what they had learned from his adversaries. His usurpation and tyranny had been the favourite theme of the preachers, and the re-establishment of his jurisdiction had always been described to them as the worst evil which could befall their country. In addition, it was said and believed, that the restoration of ecclesiastical property was essentially connected with the recognition of the papal authority. If the spoils of the church had been at first confined to a few favourites and purchasers, they were now become, by sales and bequests, divided and subdivided among thousands; and almost every family of opulence in the kingdom had

reason to deprecate a measure, which, according to the general opinion, would induce the compulsive surrender of the whole, or of a part of its possessions.

By the council it was at first determined to attempt both objects by a most comprehensive bill, which should repeal at once all the acts that had been passed in the two last reigns, affecting either the marriage between the queen's father and mother, or the exercise of religion as it stood in the first year of Henry VIII. By the peers no objection was made; but, during the progress of the bill through the upper house, it became the general subject of conversation, and was condemned as an insidious attempt to restore the authority of the pope. The ministers felt alarmed at the opposition which was already organised among the commons; and the queen, coming unexpectedly to the house of lords, gave the royal assent to three bills (the only bills which had been passed), and prorogued the parliament for the space of three days *.

In the succeeding session two new bills were introduced, in the place of the former; one confirming the marriage of Henry and Catherine, the other regulating the national worship. In the first all reference to the papal dispensation was dexterously avoided. It stated that, after the queen's father and mother had lived together in lawful matrimony for the space of twenty years, unfounded scruples and projects of divorce had been suggested to the king by interested individuals, who, to accomplish their design, procured in their favour the seals of foreign universities by bribery, and of the national universities by intrigues and threats; and that Thomas, then newly made archbishop of Canterbury,

* Historians have indulged in fanciful conjectures to account for the shortness of the session. The true reason may be discovered in Mary's letter to cardinal Pole of 28th of October. *Plus difficultatis fit circa auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ quam veræ religionis cultum... siquidem primus ordo comitiorum existimaverat consultum ut omnia statuta... abrogarentur... Cum vero hæc deliberatio secundo ordini comitiorum innovaretur, statim suspicatus est hæc proponi in gratiam pontificis, &c. Quirin., iv. 119.*

most ungodlily, and against all rules of equity and conscience, took upon himself to pronounce, in the absence of the queen, a judgment of divorce, which was afterwards, on two occasions, confirmed by parliament; but that, as the said marriage was not prohibited by the law of God, it could not be dissolved by any such authority: wherefore, it enacted that all statutes confirmatory of the divorce should be repealed, and the marriage between Henry and Catherine should be adjudged to stand with God's law, and should be reputed of good effect and validity, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. Against this bill, though it was equivalent to a statute of bastardy in respect of Elizabeth, not a voice was raised in either house of parliament*.

- Oct.** The next motion was so framed as to elude the objections of those who were hostile to the pretensions of the see of Rome. It had no reference to the alienation of church property; it trenched not on the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown; it professed to have no other object than to restore religion to that state in which Edward found it on his accession, and to repeal nine acts passed through the influence of a faction during his minority. The opposition was confined to the lower house, in which, on the second reading, the debate continued two days. But, though the friends of the new doctrines are said to have amounted to one third of the members,
- Nov.** the bill passed, apparently without a division†. By it
- 8.** was at once razed to the ground that fabric which the ingenuity and perseverance of archbishop Cranmer had erected in the last reign: the reformed liturgy, which Edward's parliament had attributed to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, was now pronounced "a new thing, "imagined and devised by a few of singular opinions;"

* Stat. of Realm, iv. 200. Sine scrupulo aut difficultate. Mary to Pole, Nov. 15th. Quirini, iv. 122.

† Noailles says, ce qui a demeuré huit jours en merveilleuse dispute: et n'a sçeu passer ce bill, que la tierce partie de ceulx du tiers estat ne soient demeurez de contraire opinion. Noailles, ii. 247. Yet the journals mention no division. Journals, 29.

the acts establishing the first and second books of common prayer, the new ordinal, and the administration of the sacrament in both kinds, that authorising the marriages of priests, and legitimating their children, and those abolishing certain festivals and fasts, vesting in the king the appointment of bishops by letters patent, and regulating the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction, were repealed; and, in lieu thereof, it was enjoined that from the twentieth day of the next month should be revived and practised such forms of divine worship and administration of sacraments, as had been most commonly used in England in the last year of Henry VIII.*

By other bills passed in this parliament, all bonds, deeds, and writings, between individuals, bearing date during the short usurpation of the lady Jane, were made as good and effectual in law, as if the name of the rightful sovereign had been expressed; and all treasons created since the 25th of Edward III., with all new felonies and cases of premunire, introduced since the first of Henry VIII., were abolished; but at the same time the statute of Edward VI. against riotous assemblies was in part revived, and extended to such meetings as should have for their object to change, by force, the existing laws in matters of religion. To these must be added several private bills, restoring in blood those persons who had been deprived of their hereditary rights by the iniquitous judgments passed in Henry's reign†, and one of severity, attainting the authors and chief abettors of the late conspiracy to exclude the queen from the succession. It was, however, limited to the persons whose condemnation has been already mentioned, and to Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Guilford Dudley, "Jane Dudley his wife," and sir Ambrose Dudley, who had been arraigned and convicted on their own confessions during the sitting of parliament. Mary had no intention that they should suffer: but she hoped that the knowledge of

* Quod non sine contentione, disputatione acri et summo labore fidelium factum est. Mary to Pole. *Quirintul*, iv. 122.

† See note (C).

their danger would secure the loyalty of their friends, and, when she signed the pardon of Northampton and Gates, gave orders that the other prisoners should receive every indulgence compatible with their situation*.

But that which, during the sitting of the parliament, chiefly interested and agitated the public mind, was the project of marriage between Mary and Philip of Spain. The court was divided into two factions. At the head of the imperialists were the earl of Arundel, the lord Paget, and Rochester comptroller of the household, all three high in the favour of the queen: they were still opposed by Gardiner, the chancellor, who, though he received but little support from the timidity of his colleagues in the council, was in public seconded by the voices of the more clamorous, if not the more numerous, portion of the people. Protestants and catholics, postponing their religious animosities, joined in reprobating a measure which would place a foreign and despotic prince on the English throne; and eagerly wished for the arrival of Pole, whom rumour described as an enemy to the Spanish match, and who was believed to possess considerable influence over the royal mind†. But their expectations were disappointed by the policy of their adversaries, who predicted to Mary that the presence of a papal legate would prove the signal of a religious war, and at the same time alarmed the emperor with the notion that Pole was in reality a competitor with Philip for the hand of their sovereign‡. The former wrote to the cardinal not to venture nearer than Brussels: the latter commissioned Mendoza to stop him in the heart of Germany. At the instance of that messenger he returned to Dillinghen on the Danube; where he received an order from the pontiff to suspend the prosecution of his journey till he should receive further instructions§.

* Stat. iv. 217. Journal of council, Archæologia, xviii. 176.

† Y est il plus demandé que je n'eusse jamais pensé, le desirans maintenant tant les protestants que catholiques. Noailles, 271.

‡ Noailles, 244. Griffet, xviii.

§ Pallavicino, ii. 403.

It was a more difficult task to detect and defeat the intrigues of Noailles, the French ambassador. That minister, urged by his antipathy to the Spanish cause, hesitated not to disobey the commands of his sovereign *, and to abuse the privileges of his office. He connected himself with Courtenay, with the leaders of the protestants, and with the discontented of every description; he admitted them to midnight conferences in his house; he advised them to draw the sword for the protection of their liberties; he raised their hopes with the prospects of aid from France; and he sought by statements, often false, always exaggerated, to draw from Henry himself a public manifestation of his hostility to the intended marriage †.

The commons, at the commencement of the second Oct. session, had been induced to vote an address to the ^{30.} queen, in which they prayed her to marry, that she might raise up successors to the throne, but to select her husband not from any foreign family, but from the nobility of her own realm. Noailles, who in his despatches predicted the most beneficial result from this measure, took to himself the whole of the merit ‡. Mary, on the other hand, attributed it to the secret influence of Gardiner; who, having been outnumbered in the cabinet, sought to fortify himself with the aid of the commons. But the queen had inherited the resolution

* Je vous prie, Mons. de Noailles, comme ja je vous ay escript, fermer du tout les oreilles à tous ces gens passionnez qui vous mettent partis en avant. The king to Noailles, Nov. 9th, p. 249. I suspect, however, that this was written merely for the purpose of being shown to the queen, if events should render it necessary, for the exculpation of Henry. For that prince, on Jan. 26, orders him to do exactly the contrary. Il faudra conforter soubz main les conducteurs des entreprises que sçavez, le plus dextrement que faire se pourra; et s'eslargir plus ouvertement et franchement parler avecques eulx que n'avez encores fait: en maniere qu'ilz mettent la main à l'œuvre, iii. 36.

† This is evident from many of his despatches, p. 228. 302.

‡ Noailles, ii. 233. The emperor also attributed the address to Gardiner, and therefore wrote to Renard, puisque vous cognoissez les desseins du chancelier tendre à continuer sa pratique pour Courteney, tant plus est il requis, que soyez soigneux à la contreminer, et lui gagner, si faire se peut, la volonté. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 89.

or obstinacy of her father. Opposition might strengthen, it could not shake her purpose. She declared that she would prove a match for all the cunning of the chancellor *; and, sending the very same night for the imperial ambassador, bade him follow her into her private oratory; where, on her knees at the foot of the altar, and before the sacrament, she first recited the hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and then called God to witness that she pledged her faith to Philip prince of Spain, and while she lived would never take any other man for her husband †.

Though this rash and uncalled-for promise was kept a profound secret, the subsequent language of the queen proved to the courtiers that she had taken her final resolution. The young earl of Devon, fallen from his hopes, abandoned himself to the guidance of his interested advisers. He was under the strongest obligations to Mary. She had liberated him from the prison to which he had been confined from his infancy by the jealousy of her father and brother; she had restored him to the forfeited honours and property of his family; and she had constantly treated him with distinction above all the nobility at her court. Inexperience may be pleaded in extenuation of his fault: but, if gratitude be a duty, he ought to have been the last person to engage in a conspiracy against his benefactress. Yet he listened to those who called themselves his friends, and urged him to the most criminal attempts. They proposed to commence with the murder of Arundel and Paget, the most powerful among the partisans of Philip. Perhaps, if *they* were removed, fear or persuasion might induce Mary to accept the offer of Courtenay. Should she remain obstinate, he might, in defiance of her authority, marry Elizabeth, and repair with her to Devonshire and Cornwall, where the inhabitants were devoted to his family; and he would find the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, many other lords, and every naval and

* Griffet, xxviii.

† Ibid. xx.

military adventurer ready to join his standard*. But the discipline of the Tower was not calculated to impart to the mind that energy of character, that intrepidity in the hour of trial, which becomes a conspirator. Courtenay had issued from his prison timid and cautious; though his ambition might applaud the scheme of his friends, he had not the courage to execute it; and a new plan was devised, that he should take the horses from the royal stables at Greenwich, as he was in the habit of doing for his pleasure, should ride to an appointed place, embark in a vessel lying in the river, and cross the sea to France; that the same night his adherents should assassinate Arundel and Paget, and hasten into Devonshire; and that the earl should rejoin them in that county as soon as circumstances might require*. But Noailles, aware that the flight of Courtenay would compromise his sovereign, opposed the project under pretence that, the moment he left the shores of England, he might bid adieu to the English crown. Other plans were suggested and discussed; but the timidity of the earl checked the eagerness of his advisers; he gladly took hold of some circumstances to conceive new expectations of the royal favour, and prevailed on his friends to suspend their efforts, till they were better apprized of the final determination of Mary‡.

In the beginning of November the queen had suffered much from a malady to which she was annually subject: after her recovery it was believed that she continued to feign indisposition, for the purpose of postponing the

* Noailles, ii. 246. 254. L'entreprinze est de vouloir faire espouser audit de Courtenay madame Elizabeth, et l'enlever et emmener au pays de Dampshier (Devonshire); et de Cornuailles; . . . les ducs de Suffolk, comtes de Pembroug et de Combrelant, milord Clynton. et plusieurs des grands seigneurs, seront de ce party. Id. 11. 246. He was mistaken as to all except the duke of Suffolk.

† Noailles, ii. 258.

‡ Id. 271. On Dec. 1. Noailles informs his court, that though Elizabeth and Courtenay are proper instruments to cause a rising, there is reason to suspect that nothing will be done, on account of Courtenay's timidity; who probably will let himself be taken before he will act; comme font ordinairement les Anglois, qui ne savent jamais fuyr leur malheur, ny prevenir le peril de leur vie. Id. 283.

unpleasant task imposed on her by the address of the Nov. commons. But in a few days she sent for the lower

17. house: the speaker read the address; and, when it was expected that the chancellor, according to custom, would answer in her name, she herself replied: that, for their expressions of loyalty, and their desire that the issue of her body might succeed her on the throne, she sincerely thanked them; but, in as much as they pretended to limit her in the choice of a husband, she thanked them not. The marriages of her predecessors had always been free; nor would she surrender a privilege which they had enjoyed. If it was a subject that interested the commons, it was one that interested her still more; and she would be careful in her choice, not only to provide for her own happiness, but, which was equally dear to her, for the happiness of her people. This answer was received with applause, though it disappointed the movers of the address*.

In the mean time Elizabeth remained at court, watched by the imperialists, and caressed by their opponents: one day terrified by the fear of a prison, and the next day flattered with the prospect of a crown. No pains were spared to create dissension between the royal sisters; to awaken jealousy in the one, alarm and resentment in

* Noailles, 263. Griffet, xxviii. Notwithstanding this reply of the queen, Charles was still uneasy on account of the decided opposition of Gardiner. To Renard's account of the address of the commons, and of the queen's answer, he replies: "Elle a très bien et pertinemment répondu, et nous confirme en bonne espérance. Et puisque vous cognoissez les desseins du chancellier tendre à continuer ses pratiques pour Courtenay, tant plus est il requis, que soyez soigneux à les conteminer." A Bruxelles, 21 Nov. Renard's MSS. iii. 89. If additional proof of Gardiner's opposition be desired, it may be found in the despatches of Noailles, who, after the queen had returned her answer to the commons, writes to his court that, though the cause of Courtenay seems desperate, there still remains a slender hope in the exertions of Gardiner, who is "homme de bien, et qui voudra avoir quelque regard à l'utilité de ce royaume, sans se laisser tant aller, comme ont fait les autres en leurs passions et affections particulières et m'a l'on assure que en luy seul reste encore quelque petite espérance pour Courtenay." ii. 260. Again on Dec 1, he informs his court "que ce chancelier a tenu bien longuement son opinion contraire." ii. 297 Hence it is plain that Gardiner was an obstinate opponent of the match in the cabinet, and then only sought to make it palatable and useful to the nation, when he found that it was not in his power to prevent it.

the other. But Elizabeth explained away the charges against her, and Mary, by her conduct, belied the predictions of her enemies*. If she detained her sister at court till the dissolution of the parliament, she treated her with kindness and distinction; and at her departure dismissed her with marks of affection, and a present of two sets of large and valuable pearls †.

Dec.
6.

The emperor, at the suggestion of Paget, had written to six of the lords of the council, respecting the marriage of the queen; and Gardiner, convinced at length that to oppose was fruitless, consented to negotiate the treaty on such terms as he deemed requisite to secure the rights and liberties of the nation. The counts of Egmont and Lalain, the lord of Courrieres, and the sieur de Nigry, arrived as ambassadors extraordinary, and were admitted to an audience in presence of the whole court. When they offered to Mary the prince of Spain for her husband, she replied, that it became not a female to speak in public on so delicate a subject as her own marriage; they were at liberty to confer with her ministers, who would make known her intentions; but this she would have them to bear in mind (fixing at the same time her eyes on the ring on her finger), that her realm was her first husband, and that no consideration should induce her to violate that faith, which she had pledged at the time of her coronation ‡.

1554.
Jan.
2.

The terms, which had been already discussed between the chancellor and the resident ambassador, were speedily settled; and it was stipulated that immediately on the marriage Philip and Mary should reciprocally assume the styles and titles of their respective dominions; that

12.

* Elizabeth was said to have received nocturnal visits from Noailles, which she convinced Mary to be false. Noailles, 309. On the other hand, she was told that Mary meant to declare her a bastard by act of parliament; and she was supposed to be in disgrace, because the queen *sometimes* gave the precedence in company to the countess of Lennox and the duchess of Suffolk, the representatives of her aunts the Scottish and French queens. Noailles, 234. 273.

† Ibid. 309.

‡ Griffet, xxx.

he should aid the queen in the government of the realm, saving its laws, rights, privileges, and customs, and preserving to her the full and free disposal of all benefices, offices, lands, revenues, and fruits, which should not be granted to any but native subjects of the realm; that he should settle on her a jointure of 60,000 pounds, secured on landed property in Spain and the Netherlands; that the issue by this marriage should succeed according to law to England, and the territories belonging to the emperor in Burgundy and the Low Countries, and (failing Don Carlos, the son of Philip, and the issue of Don Carlos,) to the kingdoms of Spain, Lombardy, and the two Sicilies; and that Philip should promise upon oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges, to exclude all foreigners from office in the English court; not to carry the queen abroad without her previous request, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; not to claim any right to the succession if he should survive his consort; not to take from the kingdom ships, ammunition, or jewels belonging to the crown; and, lastly, not to engage the nation in the war between his father and the French monarch, but to preserve, as much as in him lay, the peace between England and France*.

- Jan. As soon as the treaty was signed, the chancellor explained the articles to the lord mayor and aldermen and displayed, in an eloquent discourse, the many and valuable benefits which he anticipated from an union between their sovereign and a prince, the apparent heir to so many rich and powerful territories. The death of the queen without issue prevented the accomplishment of his predictions; but he deserves praise for the solicitude with which he guarded the liberties of the nation against the possible attempts of a foreign prince on the throne, and to his honour it may be remarked, that, when Elizabeth thought of marrying the duke of Anjou,

* Rym. xv. 377—381.

she ordered her ministers to take this treaty negotiated by Gardiner for the model of their own.

The official annunciation of the marriage provoked its opponents to speak and act with greater freedom. They circulated the most incredible tales, and employed every artifice to kindle and inflame the public discontent. One day it was reported that Edward was still alive; the next, that an army of 8000 imperialists was coming to take possession of the ports, the Tower, and the fleet; the private character of Philip, and the national character of the Spaniards, were loaded with the imputation of every vice which could disgrace a prince or a people; of Mary herself it was said, that at her accession she had promised to make no change in religion, and to marry no foreigner, and that now, as she had broken her faith, she had forfeited her right to the crown. Among the leading conspirators some advised an immediate rising: the more prudent objected the severity of the weather, the impassable state of the roads, and the difficulty of collecting their followers, or of acting in concert in the midst of winter. They finally determined to wait Jan. for the arrival of Philip, who was expected in the spring: 15. at the first news of his approach to arm and oppose his landing; to marry Courtenay to the lady Elizabeth; to place them under the protection of the natives of Devonshire, and to proclaim them king and queen of England. Of any previous affection between the parties there appears no evidence; but Elizabeth had been taught that this marriage was her only resource against the suspicions of Mary and the malice of Philip, and the disappointment of Courtenay induced him to consent to a measure which would bring the crown once more within his grasp. Noailles now flattered himself that he should infallibly reap the fruit of his intrigues, if he could only keep for a few days the weak and vacillating mind of the earl firm to his engagements *. The representations

* Noailles, iii. 16, 17, 18, 22, 23. *Ladite dame Elizabeth est en payne d'estre de si pres esclaiée: ce qui n'est fait sans quelque raison: car je*

of the ambassador so wrought on the king of France, that he authorised him to give to the conspirators hope of assistance, sent him the paltry sum of 5600 crowns for
 Jan. 26. the relief of the more needy, and ordered the governors of his ports, and the officers of his navy, to furnish such aid and countenance as might not be deemed an open infraction of the peace between the two countries*.

The council, however, was not inattentive to the intrigues of the ambassador, or the designs of the factious. Paget had sent a messenger to admonish Elizabeth of her duty to the queen †, and Gardiner, in a private conference with Courtenay, extracted the whole secret from his fears or simplicity ‡. The next day the conspirators learned that they had been betrayed: yet, surprised and unprepared as they were, they resolved to bid defiance to the royal authority, and Thomas, brother to the duke of Suffolk, exclaimed that he would put himself in the place of Courtenay, and stake his head against the crown §. They immediately departed, the duke to arm

vous puis asseurer, sire, qu'elle desire fort de se mettre hors de tutelle; et a ce que j'entends, il ne tiendra que au milord de Courtenay qu'il ne l'épouse, et qu'elle ne le suive jusques au pays de Dampchier (Devonshire),...on ils seroient pour avoir une bonne part a ceste couronne.... Mais le malheur est tel que ledict de Courtenay est en si grand crainte, qu'il n'ose rien entreprendre. Je ne veois moyen qui soit pour l'empeschier sinon la faulte de cueur. ii. 310.

* Ncailles, iii. 36. This was in consequence of information carried by La Marque, a special messenger, on Jan. 15, who was instructed to show that the object of the conspirators was to place Elizabeth and Courtenay on the throne; for which purpose they solicited supplies of money and arms from France. "Ils deliberent d'eslever pour leur roye et roynne milord de Courtenay et madame Elizabeth. Toutesfoyes les principaux auteurs et conducteurs de cette entreprinze craignent avoir grant faulte d'armes, artillerie, munitions, et argent, et supplient fort humblement le roy de faire qu'il y s'interesse." (Noailles, iii. 23.) In the printed copies the latter part is omitted. It occurs in the MS. i. 373.

† It was occasioned by information given by the officers of her household, that a stranger, calling himself a pastor of the French church, had, during the last month, had several conferences with her. It was suspected that he was an agent of the disaffected: and a motion was made to confine the princess for greater security. But the queen would not listen to it. Griffet, xxv.

‡ Noailles, iii. 31. 43.

§ Qu'il est delibéré de tenir son lieu, qu'il faut qu'il soit roy ou pendu, Noailles, iii. 43. As late as January 26, Noailles writes: toutes choses,

his tenants in Warwickshire, sir James Croft to raise the borderers of Wales, and sir Thomas Wyatt to put himself at the head of the discontented in Kent; Courtenay remained near the queen, making a parade of his loyalty, but mistrusted and despised *. Elizabeth had repaired to her house at Ashridge. But Ashridge was thought to be too near to the capital, and sir James Croft begged of her to retire to the castle of Dunnington. The very next day a letter to her from Wyatt, recommending removal to the same place, was intercepted by the government; and she immediately received from Mary an order or invitation in most friendly terms to come to the palace of St. James's, where she would be right welcome, and in much greater security than at Ashridge or Dunnington; a very intelligible hint that her connection with the insurgents had been discovered †. She resolved to do neither; and alleging as an excuse the state of her health, which rendered it dangerous to travel, ordered her servants to fortify the house and solicit the aid of her friends ‡.

graces a Dieu, sont en bon chemin: et bientost j'espere que vous, sire, en aurez d'autres nouvelles, iii. 45.

* Principalement pour ce qui par les lettres de l'ambassadeur de France (some had been intercepted): l'on s'appercut comme toute la rebellion se faisoit en faveur de Cortenai, auteur d'icelle, et que Elizabeth visoit gens de guerre de son conseil. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 287. 9.

† J'ai conseillé a la dit dame pour incontinent envoyer après Elizabeth pour la saisir, car je crains qu'elle se retire. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 286.

‡ At the departure of the conspirators Elizabeth left her residence for Ashridge, thirty miles further off, Noailles, iii. 44. Here Croft exhorted her to go on to Dunnington. Foxe, iii. 794. Wyatt's intercepted letter to the same effect was acknowledged by him at his trial, Howell's State Trials, i. 863. Mary's letter to recall her to London is in Strype, iii. 83, and Hearne, 154. That Elizabeth fortified her house at Ashridge, and assembled armed men, is stated by Noailles, January 26, on, comme on dict, se fait de ja assemblée de gens à sa devotion, iii. 44. and by Renard, in his letter to the emperor: Elizabeth faisoit gens de guerre— elle se fortifie en sa maison, ou elle est malade, Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 287. 189. She was afterwards examined respecting her reasons for wishing to go to Dunnington: at first she affected not to know that she had such a house, or that she had ever spoken with any one on the subject: but when sir James Croft was produced before her, she said: "I do remember that master Hobby and mine officers, and you, sir James, had such talk: but what is that to the purpose, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times?" Sir James, after expressing his sorrow to be a witness against her, falling on his knees, said, "I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge." Foxe, iii. 794. And yet, Noailles, in his despatch of January 23,

In calculating the probability of success, the conspirators had been misled by the late revolution. With the exception of the duke of Suffolk and his brothers, they reckoned among them no individual of illustrious name or extensive influence: but they had persuaded themselves, that the nation unanimously condemned the Spanish match, and that, as public opinion had recently driven Jane, so it would now, with equal facility, drive Mary from the throne*. The experience of a few days dispelled the illusion. 1°. The men of Devonshire, on whose attachment to the house of Courtenay so much reliance had been placed, were the first to undeceive the insurgents. Sir Peter Carew, with Gibbs, and Champenham, the appointed leaders, having waited in vain for the arrival of the recreant earl, assembled the citizens of Exeter, and proposed to them to sign an address to the queen. It stated that the object of the Spaniards, in coming to England, was to oppress the natives, to live at free quarters, and to violate the honour of females; that every Englishman was ready to sacrifice his life before he would submit to such tyranny; and that they had, therefore, taken up arms to resist the landing of any foreigners, who should approach the western coast. But the people showed no disposition to comply; and, on the arrival of the earl of Bedford, a few of the conspirators were apprehended, the rest sought an asylum in France. 2°. Though sir James Croft reached his estates on the borders of Wales, he was closely followed, and, before he could raise his tenants, was made prisoner in his bed. 3°. The duke of Suffolk was equally unfortunate. Of his disaffection no suspicion had been entertained. Instead of suffering with Northumberland

reckons him among the chiefs, "les entrepreneurs," who were not dispirited, though their secret had been betrayed. Noailles, iii. 31. The reader must excuse the length and frequency of these notes. They are necessary to support a narrative, which might otherwise be attributed to the imagination or the partiality of the writer.

* "The cause of this insurrection, as they boast in all these places, is "the Queen's marriage with the prince of Spaine." Earl of Arundel to lord Shrewsbury, Jan. 27.

on the scaffold, he had been permitted, after a detention of only three days in the Tower, to retire to his own house: the clemency of the queen had preserved him from the forfeiture of his property and honours; his duchess had been received at court with a distinction which excited the jealousy of Elizabeth; and Suffolk himself had given to Mary repeated assurances of his attachment to her person, and of his approbation of her marriage. But, under these appearances, he concealed far different sentiments. A precisian in point of religion, a disciple of the most stern and uncompromising among the reformed teachers, he deemed it a duty to risk his life, and the fortune of his family, in the support of the new doctrines. With his brothers, the lords John and Thomas Grey, and fifty followers, he left Shene for his estates in Warwickshire. To me, it seems uncertain whether he meant, with the other conspirators, to set up the lady Elizabeth as the competitor of Mary, or to revive the claim of his daughter, the lady Jane*. In the towns through which he passed he called on the inhabitants to rise, like their brethren in the south, and ^{Jan.} to arm in defence of their liberties, which had been ^{25.} betrayed to the Spaniards. They listened with apathy to his eloquence, and refused the money which he scattered among them: the earl of Huntingdon, once his fellow-prisoner in the Tower, pursued him, by command of the queen; and a trifling skirmish in the neighbourhood of Coventry convinced him that he was no match for the forces of his adversary. He bade his followers reserve themselves for a more favourable opportunity, and trusted himself to the fidelity of a tenant, of the name of Underwood, who concealed him within a hollow tree, and then, through the fear of punishment, or the hope of reward, betrayed him to his pursuers. In ^{Feb.} less than a fortnight from his departure, he was an ^{10.}

* Noailles describes his brother as a partisan of the lady Elizabeth, iii. 48. Yet Rosso (14. 52), Thuanus (i. 449.), Stowe (6.2), and Heylin (165-263), assert that the duke proclaimed the lady Jane at different places on the road.

inmate of the Tower. Of his brothers, John was already there, and Thomas joined him soon afterwards*.

It was in Kent, only, that the insurrection assumed a formidable appearance, under the direction of sir Thomas Wyatt. If we may believe his own assertion, he ought not to be charged with the origin of the conspiracy. It was formed without his knowledge, and was first communicated to him by the earl of Devon; but he engaged in it with cheerfulness, under the persuasion that the marriage of the queen with Philip would be followed by the death of the lady Elizabeth, and by the subversion of the national liberties. By the apostacy of Courtenay, he became one of the principals in the insurrection; and while his associates, by their presumption and weakness, proved themselves unequal to the attempt, he excited the applause of his very adversaries, by the secrecy and address with which he organized the rising, and by the spirit and perseverance with which he conducted the enterprise†. The moment he drew the sword, fifteen hundred armed men assembled around him; while five thousand others remained at their homes, ready, at the first toll of the alarum-bell, to crowd to his standard. He fixed his head-quarters in the old and ruinous castle of Rochester; a squadron of five sail, in the Thames, under his secret associate Winter, supplied him with cannon and ammunition; and batteries were erected to command the passage of the bridge, and the opposite bank of the river. Yet fortune did not appear to favour his first attempts. Sir Robert Southwell dispersed a party of insurgents under Knevet; the lord Abergavenny defeated a large reinforcement led by Isley, another of the conspirators; and the citizens of Canterbury rejected his entreaties, and derided his threats. It required all his address to keep

* Griffet, xxxii. Lodge, i. 187. Rosso, 46. Stowe, 618. Holins. 1094, 1095.

† Howell's State Trials, i. 863. Noailles calls Wyatt, *un gentilhomme le plus vaillant, et assuré de quoy j'aye jamais ouy parler*, iii. 59.

his followers together. Though he boasted of the succours which he daily expected from France, though he circulated reports of successful risings in other parts of the country, many of the insurgents began to waver; several sent to the council offers to return to their duty, on condition of pardon; and there is reason to believe that the main force under Wyatt would have dissolved of itself, had it been suffered to remain a few days longer in a state of inactivity*.

But the duke of Norfolk had already marched from Jan. London, with a detachment of guards, under the com- 26.
mand of sir Henry Jerningham. He was immediately followed by 500 Londoners, led by captain Bret, and was afterwards joined by the sheriff of Kent with the bands of the county. This force was far inferior in number to the enemy; and, what was of more disastrous consequence, some of its leaders were in secret league with Wyatt. The duke, having in vain made an offer of pardon, ordered the bridge to be forced. The troops were 29.
already in motion, when Bret, who led the van, halted his column, and, raising his sword, exclaimed, "Masters, " we are going to fight in an unholy quarrel against our " friends and countrymen, who seek only to preserve us " from the dominion of foreigners. Wherefore I think " that no English heart should oppose them, and am " resolved for my own part to shed my blood in the " cause of this worthy captain, master Wyatt." This address was seconded by Brian Fitzwilliam: shouts of ' a Wyatt! a Wyatt!' burst from the ranks; and the Londoners, instead of advancing against the rebels, faced about to oppose the royalists†. At that moment Wyatt himself joined them at the head of his cavalry; and the duke, with his principal officers, apprehending

* Noailles, iii. 46, 47. Lodge, i. 187. Cont. of Fabyan, 558. Holins. 1093. 1095.

† Noailles, the day before the event, informed his sovereign of the intended desertion of the officers of the Londoners. *Le ceux la mesme, selon que le bruit en court, les principaux capitaines des gens de pied se tourneront vers icelles, quand ce viendra au besoign.* iii. 47.

a general defection, fled towards Gravesend. Seven pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the insurgents; their ranks were recruited from the deserters; and the whole body, confident of victory, began their march in the direction of London*.

- This unexpected result revealed to the queen the alarming secret that the conspiracy had pushed its branches into the very heart of the metropolis. Every precaution was immediately taken for the security of the court, the Tower, and the city; the bridges for fifteen miles were broken down, and the boats secured on the opposite bank of the river; the neighbouring peers received orders to raise their tenantry, and hasten to the protection of the royal person; and a reward of 100*l.* per annum in land was offered for the apprehension of Wyatt. That chieftain, with fifteen thousand men under his command, had marched through
- Feb. 1. Dartford to Greenwich and Deptford, when a message from the council, inquiring into the extent of his demands, betrayed their diffidence, and added to his presumption. In the court and the council-room, nothing was to be heard but expressions of mistrust and apprehension: some blamed the precipitancy of Gardiner in the change of religion; some the interested policy of the advisers of the Spanish match; and the imperial ambassadors, with the exception of Renard, fearing for their lives, escaped in a merchant-vessel lying in the river†. The queen alone appeared firm and collected; she betrayed no symptom of fear, no doubt of the result; she ordered her ministers to provide the means of defence, and undertook to fix, by her confidence and address, the wavering loyalty of the Londoners‡. The lord mayor had called an extraordi-

* Rosso says that the duke fell into the hands of Wyatt, who behaved to him with respect, and told him that he was at liberty to return to the queen, and inform her that the rising was not against her, but against the tyranny of the Spaniards. p. 47.

† Noailles, iii. 53. Griffet, xxx. iii.

‡ So says Renard, *ibid.* and a writer inter Poli epis. Tu, cæteris tam repentino tuo periculo perturbatus, animo ipsa minime fracta ac debilitata

nary meeting of the citizens ; and, at three in the afternoon, Mary, with the sceptre in her hand, and accompanied by her ladies and officers of state, entered the Guildhall. She was received with every demonstration of respect ; and, in a firm and dignified tone, complained of the disobedience and insolence of the men of Kent. At first the leaders had condemned her intended marriage with the prince of Spain ; now they had betrayed their real design. They demanded the custody of her person, the appointment of her council, and the command of the Tower. Their object was to obtain the exercise of the royal authority, and to abolish the national worship. But she was convinced that her people loved her too well, to surrender her into the hands of rebels. "As for this marriage," she continued, "ye shall understand that I enterprised not the doing thereof, without the advice of all our privy council ; nor am I, I assure ye, so bent to my own will, or so affectionate, that for my own pleasure I would choose where I lust, or needs must have a husband. I have hitherto lived a maid ; and doubt nothing, but with God's grace I am able to live so still. Certainly, did I think that this marriage were to the hurt of you my subjects, or the impeachment of my royal estate, I would never consent thereunto. And, I promise you, on the word of a queen, that, if it shall not appear to the lords and commons in parliament to be for the benefit of the whole realm, I will never marry, while I live. Wherefore stand fast against these rebels, your enemies and mine ; fear them not, for I assure ye, I fear them nothing at all : and I will leave with you my lord Howard and my lord admiral, who will be assistant with the mayor for your defence." With these words she departed : the hall rang with acclamations ; and by the next morning more than twenty

es, sed ita te gessisti, &c., tom. v. App. 382. Noailles, on the contrary, says : Je me deliberay en cap de veoir de quel visage elle et sa compaignie y alloient, que je cogneus estre aussy triste et desplorée qu'il se peut penser. iii. 51.

thousand men had enrolled their names for the protection of the city*.

The next day Wyat entered Southwark. But his Feb. followers had dwindled to seven thousand men, and were
 3. hourly diminishing. No succours had arrived from France; no insurrection had burst forth in any other county; and the royal army was daily strengthened by reinforcements. The batteries erected on the walls of the Tower compelled him to leave Southwark†: but he had by this time arranged a plan with some of the reformers in the city to surprise Ludgate an hour before sunrise; and for that purpose directed his march
 6. towards Kingston. Thirty feet of the wooden bridge had been destroyed: but he swam or prevailed on two seamen to swim across the river, and, having procured a boat from the opposite bank, laboured with a few associates at the repairs, while his men refreshed themselves in the town. At eleven at night the insurgents passed the bridge: at Brentford they drove in the advanced post of the royalists: but an hour was lost in repairing the carriage of a cannon, and, as it became too late for Wyat to keep his appointment at Ludgate, the chief of his advisers abandoned him in despair. Among these were Poinet, the protestant bishop of Winchester, who now hastened to the continent; and sir George Harper, who rode to St. James's, and announced the approach and expectations of Wyat. He arrived about two hours
 7. after midnight. The palace was instantly filled with alarm; the boldness of the attempt gave birth to reports of treason in the city and the court; and the ministers on their knees, particularly the chancellor, conjured the queen to provide for her own safety, by retreating into the Tower. But Mary scorned the timidity

* Holins. 1096. Noailles, iii. 52. 66. Foxe, iii. 35. She spoke with so much ease, that Foxe adds, "she seemed to have perfectly conned it without book." Ibid.

† Here his followers had pillaged the house of Gardiner, and destroyed the books in his library, "so that a man might have gone up to the knees in the leaves of books, cut out and thrown under foot." Stowe, 619.

of her advisers: from the earl of Pembroke and lord Clinton she received assurances that they would do their duty; and in return she announced her fixed determination to remain at her post. In a council of war it was decided to place a strong force at Ludgate, to permit the advance of Wyatt, and then to press on him from every quarter, and to enclose him like a wild beast in the toils*.

At four in the morning the drum beat to arms; and in a few hours the royalists under Pembroke and Clinton amounted to ten thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. The hill opposite St. James's was occupied with a battery of cannon and a strong squadron of horse: lower down, and nearer to Charing Cross, were posted two divisions of infantry; and several smaller parties were detached to different points in the vicinity. About nine, Wyatt reached Hyde Park corner. Many of his followers, who heard of the queen's proclamation of pardon, had slunk away in the darkness of the night: the rest were appalled at the sight of the formidable array before their eyes. But their leader saw that to recede must be his ruin; he still relied on the co-operation of the conspirators and reformers in the city; and after a short cannonade, seizing a standard, rushed forward to charge the cavalry. They opened; allowed three or four hundred men to pass; and, closing, cut off the communication between them and the main body. The insurgents, separated from their leader, did not long sustain the unequal contest; about one hundred were killed, great numbers wounded, and four hundred made prisoners. Wyatt paid no attention to the battle which raged behind

* Grifft., xxxv. Cum tui te hortando et obsecrando urgere non desisterent, ut in arcem te reciperes, ne tum quidem ullius timoris signum dedisti. Pol. ep. tom. v. App. 322. "It was more than marvel to see that 'day the invincible heart and constancy of the queen.' Holins. 1098. Renard says that she showed, tel cuer qu'elle dit ne se vouloir retirer, si le comte de Pembroke et Clinton vouloient faire leur devoir, et incontinent envoya devers eux, qui la suppliaient ne bouger. Renard's MSS. iii. 287. Rosso adds that she had a guard of one hundred and fifty men, and beheld the charge made by Pembroke at the distance of musket-shot. Rosso, 50.

his back. Intent on his purpose, he hastened through Piccadilly, insulted the gates of the palace, and proceeded towards the city. No molestation was offered by the armed bands stationed on each side of the street. At Ludgate he knocked, and demanded admittance, "for the queen had granted all his petitions."—"Avaunt, traitor!" exclaimed from the gallery the lord William Howard, "thou shalt have no entrance here." Disappointed and confounded, he retraced his steps, till he came opposite the inn called the Bel Savage. There he halted a few minutes. To the spectators he seemed absorbed in thought: but was quickly aroused by the shouts of the combatants, and with forty companions continued to fight his way back, till he reached Temple Bar. He found it occupied by a strong detachment of horse: whatever way he turned, fresh bodies of royalists poured upon him; and Norroy king at arms, advancing, exhorted him to spare the blood of his friends, and to yield himself a prisoner. After a moment's pause he threw away his sword, and surrendered to sir Maurice Berkeley, who carried him first to the court, and thence to the Tower. There, in the course of a few hours, he was rejoined by the chief of the surviving conspirators. The nobility and gentry crowded to St. James's to offer their congratulations to the queen, who thanked them in warm terms for their loyalty and courage. Two were excepted, Courtenay and the young earl of Worcester; who, on the first advance of the enemy, through timidity or disaffection, had turned the heads of their horses and fled, exclaiming that all was lost*.

At the termination of the former conspiracy, the queen had permitted but three persons to be put to death,—an instance of clemency, considering all the

* Stowe, 620—622. Strype, iii. 89. Noailles, iii. 59, 64—69. Courtenay et le compte d'Orcestre pour leur premiere guerre se retirarent arriere contre la cour, sans coup frapper, et dirent que tout estoit perdu, que la victoire estoit aux enemys, qu'a été singulièrement noté, et confirme ce que l'ambassadeur de France ecrivait, que l'emprins se faisoit pour lui Il (Courtenay) montra ce qu'il avoit dans le cueur, dont ladite dame est fort irritée. Renard's MSS. iii. 289.

circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages. But the policy of her conduct had been severely arraigned both by the emperor and some of her own counsellors. Impunity, they argued, encourages the factious to a repetition of their offence; men ought to be taught by the punishment of the guilty, that if they presume to brave the authority of the sovereign, it must be at the peril of their lives and fortunes. Mary now began to admit the truth of these maxims: she condemned her former lenity as the cause of the recent insurrection*, and while her mind was still agitated with the remembrance of her danger, was induced to sign, on the morrow of the action at Temple Bar, a warrant for the execution of "Guildford Dudley and his wife," at the expiration of three days. On the fatal morning the queen sent them permission to take a last farewell of each other: but Jane refused the indulgence, saying, that in a few hours they should meet in heaven. From the window of her cell she saw her husband led to execution, and beheld his bleeding corpse brought back to the chapel. *He* had been beheaded on Tower-hill, in sight Feb. of an immense multitude; *she*, on account of her royal descent, was spared the ignominy of a public execution. With a firm step and cheerful countenance she mounted the scaffold, which had been erected on the green within the Tower, and acknowledged in a few words to the spectators her crime in having consented to the treason of Northumberland, though she was not one of the original conspirators. "That device," she said, "was never of my seeking, but by the counsel of those, who appeared to have better understanding of such things than I. As to the procurement or desire of such dignity by me, I wash my hands thereof before God and all you Christian people this day." Here

* Ledit Thomas, le second fils dudit duc de Suffolk, étant prisonnier, a écrit lettre à ladite dame pour miséricorde: mais elle est déterminée de passer ses affaires par la justice requise. puis qu'ils ont mesuré et abusé de sa clemence et miséricorde, et de incontinent leur faire trancher la tête. Ren. MSS. 289.

she wrung her hands, then having expressed her confidence of obtaining mercy through the blood of Christ, requested the spectators to assist her in that trial with their prayers, repeated a psalm with Feckenham, formerly abbot of Westminster, and laid her head upon the block. At one stroke it was severed from the body*. Her life had before been spared as a pledge for the loyalty of the house of Suffolk. That pledge was indeed forfeited by the rebellion of the duke, but it would have been to the honour of Mary if she had overlooked the provocation, and refused to visit on the daughter the guilt of the father. Her youth ought to have pleaded most powerfully in her favour; and, if it were feared that she would again be set up by the factious as a competitor with her sovereign, the danger might certainly have been removed by some expedient less cruel than the infliction of death.

The chief of the conspirators had been conveyed to the Tower, to abide their trials; against the common men, who had been taken in the field, it was determined to proceed by martial law. About fifty of those who had deserted with Bret, were hanged in different parts
 Feb. 14. of the metropolis; half a dozen suffered in Kent; and
 15. the remainder, amounting to four hundred, were led to the palace with halters round their necks. Mary
 20. appeared at a balcony, pronounced their pardon, and bade them return in peace to their homes†.

Most of the prisoners in the Tower, on the expression of their sorrow, obtained their discharge. Of six who were brought to the bar, sir Nicholas Throckmorton alone pleaded his cause with success. There can be

* Losely MSS. 122. Foxe iii. 29. Holins. 1099. Noailles, iii. 125. Foxe has published several letters said to be the production of this unfortunate lady. They breathe a contempt of death, sublime sentiments of piety, and a profound hatred of the ancient creed, expressed in the most bitter language against its professors. It is, however, difficult to believe them the unaided composition of a young woman of seventeen.

† Noailles and Renard represent the sufferers as more numerous; but our own writers, who could not be mistaken, agree in the number mentioned in the text.

little doubt that he was deeply engaged in the conspiracy: but he claimed the benefit of the recent statute, abolishing all treasons created since the reign of Edward III.; disputed every point with the counsel and the bench, and contended that no overt act of treason had been proved against him. He was acquitted by the jury; but the judges, on the ground that the verdict was contrary to law, remanded him to the Tower, from which he was not discharged till the next year. On the same account the jurors were called before the Star Chamber, where some made their submission; the others were fined and imprisoned*.

Of the five conspirators who had received judgment, Croft obtained a pardon. 1°. The duke of Suffolk fell unpitied. His ingratitude to the queen, his disregard Feb. of his daughter's safety, and his meanness in seeking to purchase forgiveness by the accusation of others, had sharpened the public indignation against him. 2°. Suffolk was followed to the scaffold by Wyat, the chief April support of the insurrection: but his weak and wavering conduct in the Tower provoked a suspicion that he had little claim to that firmness of mind, for which by his daring in the field he had obtained credit. 3°. The next victim was the lord Thomas Grey†, a nobleman 17. of venturous spirit, and towering ambition, who by his unbounded influence over his brother, the duke, was believed to have drawn him into this unfortunate enterprise. The last who suffered was William Thomas, private secretary to the late king. Discontent and fanat- May icism had urged him to the most daring attempts; he 18. was convicted of a design to murder the queen; and, though he stabbed himself in his prison, expired on the

* We have an elaborate and copious report of this remarkable trial. The author is unknown, but it is an impeachment of his credit that he was a warm partisan of Throckmorton, or of the cause which Throckmorton supported. This is plain from his anxiety to exhibit the answers and speeches of the prisoner in the most favourable light, whilst the pleadings of his opponents and the remarks of the judges are often hastily slurred over, or perhaps wilfully suppressed. The punishment of the jury must not be considered as a solitary instance. "The fact is," says Mr. Jardine (Criminal Trials, i. 114), "that the judges had for centuries before exercised a similar authority, though not without some murmuring against it; and it was not till more than a century afterwards that, in the reign of Charles II. (1670), "a solemn decision was pronounced against its legality." † The lord John was also condemned, but pardoned and discharged by order of the queen.

scaffold. These executions have induced some writers to charge Mary with unnecessary cruelty; perhaps those who compare her with her contemporaries in similar circumstances, will hesitate to subscribe to that opinion. If, on this occasion, sixty of the insurgents were sacrificed to her justice or resentment, we shall find in the history of the next reign that, after a rebellion of a less formidable aspect, some hundreds of victims were required to appease the offended majesty of her sister*.

That princess was still at Ashridge, where we left her a fortnight ago, labouring, or pretending to labour, under some severe indisposition. But in that short space much had come to light which tended to implicate her in the conspiracy†; and it was believed that her refusal to join the queen in the capital proceeded more from consciousness of guilt than infirmity of body. The council resolved to enforce submission; but Mary insisted that, at the same time, due consideration should be paid to her health and her rank. A very kind invitation was written to her by the queen‡, and a nobleman in high favour with the princess, the lord William Howard, lord admiral, was commissioned, with two colleagues, Hast-

Jan
26.

* If we look at the conduct of government after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, we shall not find that the praise of superior lenity is due to more modern times.

† When prisoners, to save their own lives, accuse others, their depositions are not, separately, more worthy of credit than the contrary assertions of the accused. On both sides there is the same motive for falsehood. But in the present case the charge against Elizabeth and Courtenay is confirmed by several despatches of Noailles, written in the months of December and January, immediately preceding the rebellion. To his evidence, in his statements to his own sovereign, little objection can be made.—It has, indeed, been said that Wyat, at his death, declared both the prisoners innocent. But a little reflection will show that nothing can be deduced from the words and conduct of Wyat. 1^o. He visited Courtenay, and remained with him half an hour in his cell. If we believe the sheriffs, he asked Courtenay's pardon for having accused him: if we believe lord Chandos, who was also present, he exhorted him to confess his offence. It is plain, that from such contradictory statements nothing certain can be elicited. 2^o. It was rumoured, that on the scaffold, he pronounced both the prisoners innocent. This was reported by Noailles to his court: but two persons who had propagated the same story in the city were put in the pillory, for spreading false intelligence.—His words are said to have been: "where it is noised abroad that I should accuse the lady Elizabeth, and the lord Courtenay, it is not so, good people; for I assure you neither they, nor any other now yonder, in hold, was privy of my rising before I began, as I have declared no less to the queen's council; and that is most true." It may certainly be true; for he rose unexpectedly, six weeks before the time originally fixed upon. But Dr. Watson immediately said, "Mark this, my masters, that that which he hath shown to the council of them in writing, is true." Wyat made no reply. Was not this silence equivalent to an acknowledgment? See Stowe, 624.

‡ Strype, iii. 130; reprint of 1816.

ings and Cornwallis, members of the council, to bring her to the court. They were instructed to take with them two of the queen's physicians, to ascertain her ability to travel, and also the queen's litter for her greater convenience on the road. It was with the utmost reluctance that Elizabeth yielded. The physicians assured her that there was no danger; the commissioners proposed to divide the road into five short stages of about six miles each, by which she might proceed from one gentleman's house to another, and perform the mighty journey of thirty miles in the course of six days*. This arrangement, however, did not take place: a respite of another week was granted, and she at last reached London in great state, "preceded by one hundred velvet coats, and followed by one hundred more in scarlet and silver." At Aldgate the litter was thrown open by her order. Her features, pale and emaciated, showed how severely she had suffered from bodily disease or mental anxiety. She was dressed entirely in white, and met with an air of haughtiness and defiance the rude gaze of the populace. On her arrival she asked in vain for an interview with the queen, and was immediately conducted to apartments provided for her in a quarter of the palace out of which there was no egress but through a passage occupied by the guard. Of her numerous suite there remained to wait upon her two of her gentlemen, six ladies, and two servants; the rest were lodged in the city†.

It now became a most perplexing question, in what manner to proceed with respect to Elizabeth and Courtenay. Of their participation in the treason of the insurgents there could hardly exist a doubt. Additions were daily made to the great mass of evidence against them by the disclosures and confessions of the prisoners, besides which the council had intercepted three dispatches of Noailles, the fomenter, if not the originator, of the conspiracy‡, and had derived from them detailed accounts of the plans and resources of the leaders: they held, moreover, two notes from Wyat to the princess;

* We owe the knowledge of these minute particulars to the researches of Mr. Tyder (ii. 420). They are interesting, because they show how little credit is due to the tragic description of the same event in Foxe, 792.

† Noailles, 88, 100. Renard, March 22. Foxe, 792. Strype, iii. 150.

‡ Dated 26th, 28th, and 30th of January. They were written in cipher, the key to which Noailles thought would not be discovered. — Noailles, p. 91. 133, 134. He was, however, mistaken. Renard's MS. iii. 236.

one advising her to remove to Donnington, and another announcing to her his triumphant entry into Southwark : they were also in possession of a document of more questionable authenticity, — a letter purporting to have been written by Elizabeth herself to the king of France. Mary, however, grew weary of being the jailor of her sister. She proposed to the council that some one of the lords should take charge of her in a private house in the country. But no man was willing to incur the responsibility, and an order was made

Mar. for her committal to the Tower. She received the intelligence with dismay, and most earnestly solicited permission to speak to, or, if that could not be, to write to, the queen. 17. The last was granted, and in the letter said to have been written on that occasion, she maintained with oaths and imprecations that she had never received any letter from Wyatt, never written a single line to the French king, never consented to any project that could endanger the life or crown of her sister *. It was a Saturday, and the barge was in readiness to convey her to the Tower. But she continued writing till the tide would no longer serve, and by that ingenious artifice procured a respite till the following Monday†.

In the Tower Elizabeth abandoned herself to the most gloomy anticipations. She was saved from the danger by the abilities and good offices of one whom it has been the fashion to describe as her bitterest enemy. For several weeks Renard, the imperial ambassador, laboured incessantly to extort the queen's consent, that the princess should be condemned and sent to the scaffold. She was a competitor for the crown ; she had accepted the offer of the rebels, and ought to suffer the penalty of her treason. To spare her was to prepare the way for another insurrection in her favour. As long as she lived Mary could never sit on the throne in security, nor could the prince of Spain venture to set his foot on English ground without danger to his person.

* "To this present hower," she says, "I protest afore God (who shal iuge my truethe, whatsoever malice shal devise) that I never practised, conciled, nor consented to any thinge, that might be prejudicial to your parson any way, or dangerous to the state by any mene.—As for the traitor Wyatt, he might paraventur writ me a lettar : but on my faith I never received any from him ; and as for the copie of my lettar sent to the French kinge, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or lettar by any mences ;—and to this my trueth I wil stand in to my dethe." Neve on Philips, App. No. II. Ellis, 2nd ser. ii. 259. † Renard, March 22.

If these representations, made in the name to the emperor, produced no effect, the ambassador was aware that the failure arose from the influence of Gardiner over the mind of the queen. No reasoning, no remonstrances, could divert the English minister from his purpose. He amused the ambassador with fair words, and feigned to be of his opinion*. But certain accustomed forms must be observed, and care be taken that the proceedings should be conducted according to law and precedent, a task which he would take upon himself without delay. He began with the charge against Courtenay. The preliminary examinations were made, and the law officers of the crown gave an opinion that the evidence against him was sufficient to insure his conviction of the crime of high treason. But here Gardiner unaccountably paused, and Courtenay, instead of being brought to trial, was suffered to remain a quiet prisoner in the Tower. With respect to the princess Elizabeth, the same answer was always returned to the inquiries of Renard, that the queen had not yet made up her mind, but waited till more decisive proof might be obtained. Mary called for the first of the intercepted despatches of Noailles, the document said to contain the damning proof of her connection with the rebels, but it was not forthcoming. The chancellor could not deny that it had originally been in his possession; but now, after a long search, it could nowhere be found†. Was it not that he had determined to suppress it? Were not the queen and her minister acting in concert? For otherwise it is difficult to understand how she could have passed over in silence a matter so likely to provoke suspicion. Thus the time passed on till the dissolution of parliament. The Whitsuntide holi-

April
30.May
1.

* In the beginning of April, during the conference between Renard and Gardiner, in the presence of the queen, Gardiner is stated by the ambassador to have owned that "as long as Elizabeth was alive there was no hope that the kingdom could be tranquil," and to have said afterwards that "if everybody went as roundly to work in providing the necessary remedies as he did, things would go on better."—Tyt. ii. 365. It is a pity that this interesting letter has not been published, as well as others of much less interest. From the two short extracts copied above, it has been inferred that Gardiner really thirsted for the blood of Elizabeth. But no such inference can be fairly deduced from them, nor does the first of the two prove any thing more than that the wily statesman was willing to appear of the same opinion with the emperor. Of his real intention with respect to the princess we may judge from the fact that he continued after this conference to shield her, as he had done before, from the repeated attempts of the ambassador to have her brought to trial and put to death. † Il a confessé l'avoir eu, et receu, mais il ne sca voit ou il l'avoit mis. Renard, 1 Mai.

days followed, and the queen repaired to her palace at Richmond, whence she sent an order to Elizabeth to come from the Tower by water, and join the court. A few days later the princess was sent forward to Woodstock, which had been selected for her residence, and where she remained till the beginning of the next year, under the care and superintendence of sir Henry Bedingfeld*. Courtenay was also liberated, and conducted to Fotheringay Castle by sir Thomas Tresham.

Another subject of discussion was the conduct to be observed in relation to Noailles, whose clandestine intrigues with the conspirators had been by them betrayed to the council. Renard maintained to the queen, that by fomenting a rebellion within the realm, he had forfeited the privilege of an ambassador; that he ought to be sent out of England, or put under arrest, till the pleasure of his sovereign was known; and that the king of France should be informed, that if the culprit had been treated with so much lenity, it was not through any doubt of his guilt, but through respect for him whose representative he had been. But to the majority of the council this measure appeared too bold and hazardous. It might lead to a war, which it was their object to avoid; and they determined to connive at his past, and to watch his subsequent conduct. Mary, however, who knew the secret enmity of the man, could ill disguise her feelings; and on more than one occasion answered him with an asperity of language, of the real cause of which he appears not to have been aware*. The Venetian ambassador, who had seconded the attempts of Noailles, was recalled by the senate.

The rebellion had suspended, for a few weeks, the proceedings relative to the queen's marriage; but in the beginning of March the count Egmont returned from Brussels with the ratification of the treaty on the part of the emperor. On an appointed day the lords of the

* Elizabeth, after her liberation, familiarly called Bedingfeld "her jailor." His conduct has been vindicated from the slander of Foxe by Wharton (*Life of sir T. Pope*, 75) and Miss Aikin in her *Court of Queen Elizabeth*. It appears from the family papers that Bedingfeld considered himself in favour with Elizabeth, and frequently repaired to her court to pay his respects to her after she became queen.

† Griffet, xxxviii.

council accompanied Mary to her private oratory ; and the Mar count was introduced by the lord admiral and the earl of 10. Pembroke. The queen, having knelt before the altar, said that she took this solemn occasion to express her mind in their presence, and to call on God to witness the truth of her words. She had not determined to marry through dislike of celibacy, nor had she chosen the prince of Spain through respect of kindred. In the one and the other, her chief object had been to promote the honour of her crown, and to secure the tranquillity of her realm. To her people she had pledged her faith on the day of her coronation ; it was her firm resolve to redeem that pledge ; nor would she ever permit affection for her husband to seduce her from the performance of this, the first, the most sacred of her duties. After this address she exchanged the ratification of the treaty with the ambassador : he espoused her in the name of the prince of Spain ; and she put on her finger a valuable ring, sent by the emperor as a present from his son*.

The parliament had been summoned to meet at Ox-Apr 2 ford, but was transferred to Westminster, apparently at the request of the citizens†. The chief object of the queen was to silence the arguments of the insurgents by the authority of the legislature. 1°. The cause of the lady Jane had been espoused by many of the reformed preachers. They had then no objection to a female sovereign. But the failure of their hopes had removed the veil from their eyes ; and the more violent had now discovered that the government of a woman was prohibited by the word of God. In the Old Testament it had been ordered to take the king from the midst of the "brethren," an expression which, they contended, must exclude all females ; and in the New we are taught that the man is the head of the woman ; whence they inferred, that no woman ought to possess the supreme authority over men‡. In confirmation of their doctrine

* Griffet, xxxix.

† It has been said, but groundlessly, that the queen had dissolved the last parliament on account of the refractory spirit of the commons. Mary in her letter to Pole, of Nov. 15, 1553, informs him of her intention to dissolve it, because the session could not be prolonged at that time, and to call another in the course of three months. Ep. Pol., iv. 119.

‡ Strype, iii. 11.

they appealed to the statutes of the realm. What authority did they give to queens? It was to kings, and to kings alone, that they assigned the royal prerogatives, and the punishment of offences against the crown. In opposition to this dangerous notion it was now declared, without a dissentient voice in either house, that by the ancient law of the land, whatever person, male or female, is invested with the kingly office, he or she ought to possess and exercise, in their full extent, all the pre-eminence, jurisdiction, and powers, belonging to the crown*. 2°. To prove the policy of the intended marriage with Philip against the reasoning of its adversaries, the members were requested to cast their eyes on the situation of the neighbouring nations. France and Scotland were the natural enemies of England. Hitherto they had been connected only by treaties; but now the young queen of Scotland was contracted to the dauphin of France. Where was England to find a counterpoise but in the marriage of the queen to Philip of Spain? Let the issue of Mary Stuart inherit the two crowns of France and Scotland. By this marriage, the issue of the English queen would inherit England with the Netherlands; and that country, in the estimation of every reasonable man, would prove a more valuable acquisition to the English crown, than Scotland could ever prove to that of France†. But it was objected, would not this marriage place the liberties of the nation at the mercy of a foreign despot? Undoubtedly not. Let them examine the articles of the treaty. They had been drawn after long and mature deliberation; they contained every security which the most ingenious could devise, or the most timorous could desire; they excluded all foreigners from office; they placed the honour, the franchises, and the rights of the natives beyond danger or controversy. Satisfied by this reasoning, both houses unanimously concurred in an act, confirming the treaty of marriage, and de-

* Stat. iv. 222.

† See a state paper in Noailles, iii. 109. 118. Also his account of Gardiner's speech, iii. 152.

claring that the queen, after its solemnization, should continue to enjoy and exercise the sovereignty as sole queen, without any right or claim to be given unto Philip as tenant by courtesy, or by any other manner*. Mary, having thus obtained her chief object, dissolved the parliament in person, with an address, which was repeatedly interrupted by the acclamations of the audience. Both lords and commons assured her that the prince of Spain, on his arrival, would receive a most hearty welcome from a dutiful and affectionate people†.

Still the king of France indulged a hope that some favourable incident might occur to interrupt the marriage. He not only opened an asylum for the English rebels, who had fled from justice, but encouraged them to fit out vessels for the purpose of cruising against the subjects of Charles; and he ordered his ambassador in England to persist in his intrigues, and to keep alive, by his promises, the hopes of the factious‡. That minister had several warm altercations with Mary.

* Stat. iv. 223—6. According to Noailles, Gardiner, in his speech, had suggested that as the queen and her sister Elizabeth only remained of the descendants of Henry VIII., Mary, like her father, ought to have the power of regulating the succession after her death. Noailles, iii. 153. If it was so, the subject was not followed up. There is no mention of any such motion in the journals.

† Griffet, xlvii. *Que me met en entiere confidence que votre venue par deca sera seure et aygreable.* Mary to Philip, Apr. 24th, apud Hearne, *sylloge*, ep. 156.

‡ One of their contrivances deserves to be mentioned. The most extraordinary sounds were heard to issue from a wall in Aldersgate Street, intermixed with words of obscure meaning, which were immediately interpreted to the crowd by persons in the secret. The voice was believed to be super-human, the voice of the Holy Ghost warning a wicked and incredulous generation. The imposture was carried on in the following manner: A man in the crowd called out, "God save the queen:" the voice was silent. Then another would exclaim, "God save the princess." *Amen*, in a loud, shrill voice, would appear to issue from the wall. Others followed, propounding questions respecting the prince of Spain, the Spanish match, the mass, and the several practices in the Catholic worship: to all which answers were returned from the wall in abusive and seditious language. On the second or third day the crowd attracted by this wonder was calculated at between fifteen and twenty thousand persons (Mar. 14), but the lord admiral, at the head of the guards, cleared the street, and the lord mayor followed, accompanied by two hundred workmen, who immediately began to demolish the wall. They had not proceeded far when the spirit, assuming a bodily form, crept out of a secret recess, and was found to be a young woman of eighteen, by name Elizabeth Crofts. She was made to confess the imposture publicly at St. Paul's Cross, and to name her accomplices.—Renard, Mar. 14. Strype, iii. 99. 136. Stowe, 624. Holings. 1117

plained, in a haughty tone, that his despatches had been intercepted; she, that her rebellious subjects were countenanced and protected by his master. He, to intimidate, hinted that at the death of Edward all the treaties between the two crowns had expired; she, for the same purpose, required an explanation of his meaning, that she might take measures for her own security. In the mean time he saw the preparations for the marriage proceeding with activity; and to console his chagrin, employed his time in collecting unfounded tales for the information of his sovereign, exaggerating the discontent of the nation, and describing, with a sarcastic levity, the impatience of the old woman longing for the presence of her young husband*.

- To his sorrow,
 July that husband in a short time arrived. He had sailed
 13 from Corunna, and in seven days came within sight of
 19. Southampton, escorted by the combined fleets of Eng-
 20. land, the Netherlands, and Spain. The morning after
 his arrival, the lords of the council, with a numerous
 retinue, proceeded to the fleet, and Philip, accompanied
 by the dukes of Alva and Medina Celi, the admiral of
 Castile, and don Ruy Gomez, his governor, entered the
 royal yacht, where he was received by the duke of
 Norfolk and the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and
 Derby. He had already sworn to the articles of mar-
 riage treaty, in presence of the lords Bedford
 and Fitzwalter, the English ambassadors: he now took
 an oath before the council, to observe the laws, customs,
 and liberties of the realm. The moment he set his
 foot on the beach, he was invested with the insignia of
 the order of the garter; and instantly a royal salute
 was fired by the batteries and the ships in the
 harbour. The queen had sent him a Spanish genet,
 richly caparisoned; and, as he rode first to the church,
 and thence to his lodging, the people crowded around
 him to see the husband of their sovereign. His youth,

* Noailles, iii. 195. 211. 240. 251. The geographical blunders of this minister are often amusing. On two occasions he informs his court that the queen is going to reside at York, because York is situated in the neighbourhood of Bristol, where the prince of Spain intends to land. iii. 96.

the grace of his person *, the pleasure displayed in his countenance, charmed the spectators: they saluted him with cries of "God save your grace;" and he, turning on either side, expressed his thankfulness for their congratulations. Before he dismissed the English lords, he addressed them in a Latin speech. It was not, he said, want of men or of money, that had drawn him from his own country. But God had called him to marry their virtuous sovereign, and he was come to live among them, not as a foreigner, but as a native Englishman. He received with pleasure their assurances of faith and loyalty; and promised, in return, that they should always find him a grateful, affable, and affectionate prince. Then turning to the Spanish lords, he expressed a wish that, while they remained in England, they would conform to the customs of England: and to give the example, drank farewell to the company in a tankard of ale, a beverage which he then tasted for the first time †.

Philip, before he left Southampton, ordered his fleet to sail to Flanders, and sent the queen a present of jewels, valued at one hundred thousand crowns. On the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, the July marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church at 25. Winchester, before crowds of noblemen collected from every part of Christendom, and with a magnificence which has seldom been surpassed ‡. Immediately before the ceremony, Figueroa, an imperial counsellor, presented to Gardiner, the officiating prelate, two instruments, from which he said it would appear that his sovereign, thinking it beneath the dignity of so great a queen to marry one who was not a king, had resigned to his son the crown of Naples with the duchy of Milan.

* "He is so well proportioned of body, arme, legge, and every othere
"limme to the same, as nature cannot worke a more perfect paterne."
Elder apud Andrews, i. 20.

† Noailles, iii. 284. Contin of Fabyan, 561. Pollini, 362. Rosso, 59.

‡ See a description of the whole ceremony in Rosso, p. 61.

The bishop, before he proceeded to the marriage ceremony, read aloud these cessions and the articles of the treaty. After the mass, the king and queen left the church, under a canopy, walking hand in hand, Mary on the right and Philip on the left, with two naked swords borne before them. They dined in public, in the episcopal palace; and several days were devoted to feasting and rejoicings*. From Winchester the royal pair proceeded, by slow journeys, to Windsor and the metropolis. The city had been beautified at considerable expense, and the most splendid pageants had been devised to welcome their arrival. If external appearances could be taken for proofs of internal feeling, the king and queen might justly flatter themselves that they reigned in the hearts and affections of their subjects.

The facility with which Mary had effected her marriage showed how much the failure of the insurrection had added to the power of her government; and she immediately resolved to attempt that which she had long considered an indispensable duty, the restoration of the religious polity of the kingdom to that state in which it existed at the time of her birth. The reader will recollect that in her first parliament she had prudently confined her efforts to the public re-establishment of the ancient form of worship. The statute was carried into execution on the appointed day, almost without opposition: the married clergy, according to the provisions of the canon law, were removed from their benefices†; and Gardiner, with the secret approbation of the pontiff, had consecrated catholic prelates to super-

* No one but the bishop dined at the same table with the king and queen. On one side was placed a cupboard, containing for show, 96 large vases of gold and silver. As soon as dinner was over, the tables were removed; and the rest of the day was spent in dancing. Pollini, 373. Cabrera, 20. Rosso, 70.

† The canon law had been restored to its former authority by the repeal of the nine statutes in the last parliament. The clergymen who were removed might, by conforming, recover their benefices.—If we may judge of other dioceses from that of Canterbury, the number of married was to that of unmarried clergymen as one to five. Harmer, 133.

sede the few protestant bishops who remained in possession of their sees *. Thus one half of the measure had been already accomplished: the other, the recognition of the papal supremacy, a more hazardous task, was intrusted to the care and dexterity of the chancellor. There were two classes of men from whom he had to fear opposition; those who felt conscientious objections to the authority of the pontiff, and those who were hostile to it from motives of interest. The former were not formidable either by their number or their influence; for the frequent changes of religious belief had generated in the higher classes an indifference to religious truth. Their former notions had been unsettled; and no others had been firmly planted in their place. Unable or unwilling to compare the conflicting arguments of polemics, they floated on a sea of uncertainty, ready at all times to attach themselves to any form of religion which suited their convenience or interest †. But the second class comprised almost every opulent family in the kingdom. They had all shared the plunder of the church: they would never consent to the restoration of that jurisdiction which might call in question their right to their present possessions. Hence Gardiner saw that it was necessary, in the first place, to free them from apprehension, and, for that purpose, to procure from the pontiff a bull confirming all past alienation of the property of the church.

* They were seven; Holgate of York, Taylor of Lincoln, Hooper of Worcester, Harley of Hereford, Ferrar of St. David's, Bush of Bristol, and Bird of Chester. Some of them had married; some had been consecrated according to the new ordinal, which was held to be insufficient; and all had accepted their bishoprics to hold them at the pleasure of the crown, with the clause, *quam diu bene se gesserint*. On one, or other, or all of these grounds, they were deprived. Rym. xv. 370, 371.

† This is the character of the English gentry and nobility at this period, as it is drawn by Renard, Noailles, and the Venetian ambassador, in their despatches. The latter represents them as without any other religion than interest, and ready at the call of the sovereign to embrace Judaism or Mohammedanism. *Il medesimo fariano della Macometana, ove della Judæa, purché il re mostrassi di credere e volere così, e accommodaransi a tutte, ma a quella più facilmente della quale ne sperassero over maggior licentia e libertà di vivere o vero qualche utilità.* MSS. Barber, 1208.

This subject had from the commencement been urged on the consideration of the court of *Rome*. At first Pole, the legate, had been authorized "to treat, compound, and dispense," with the holders of ecclesiastical property, as to the rents and profits which they had hitherto received; afterwards, this power was extended from rents and profits, to lands, tenements, and tithes. But *June* **Gardiner** was not satisfied*. He knew it to be the
 29. opinion of Pole that all the property belonging to the parochial livings ought to be restored; and he feared that the words "to treat, compound, and dispense," might furnish the cardinal with a pretext to call individuals before his tribunal. The imperial court entered into the views of the English minister; and it was determined to detain the cardinal in Flanders†, while *Manriquez* explained the difficulty to the pontiff, in the name of Philip and Mary. Julius, having consulted his canonists and divines, assured the envoy that the wishes of the king and queen should be gratified, and shortly
 Oct. afterwards signed a bull, empowering the legate to give,
 5. alienate, and transfer to the present possessors all property movable or immovable, which had been torn from the church during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.‡.

The parliament had been convoked for the middle of November. Mary no longer regarded the murmurs of the discontented: she was assured of the concurrence of the peers; and, to lessen the chance of opposition in the commons, had ordered the sheriffs to recommend to

* Burnet, iii. rec. 222.

† The cardinal had been allowed to go to Brussels, and thence to Paris, to offer the papal mediation in the war between the emperor and the king of France. While he was there, a letter was written to Mary by some one in his suite, dissuading her from the marriage with Philip. Charles attributed it to the cardinal, and from that moment treated him with neglect.

‡ There is a letter from cardinal Morone to Pole, informing him that all who had been consulted, were of opinion that in this particular case the alienation was lawful, and hoping that there would now be an end of his scruples: *in lei sarà cessato tutto lo scrupolo che aveva*. Quirini, iv. 170. The clause "to give, alienate, and transfer," had been devised by Gardiner, as the most likely to tranquillize the present possessors, and to secure them against subsequent claims. Pallavicino, ii. 411.

the electors those candidates who were distinguished by their attachment to the ancient faith*. The procession Nov. was opened by the commoners; the peers and prelates followed; and next came Philip and Mary, in robes of purple, the king on horseback, attended by the lords of his household, the queen in a litter, followed by the ladies of her establishment. The chancellor, having taken his place in front of the throne, addressed the two houses. The queen's first parliament, he said, had re-established the ancient worship, her second had confirmed the articles of her marriage; and their majesties expected that the third, in preference to every other object, would accomplish the re-union of the realm with the universal church. As a preliminary step, a bill was introduced to repeal the attainder of cardinal Pole. It was passed with the greatest expedition, and the next day the king and queen attended in person to give to it the royal assent†.

The lord Paget, and sir Edward Hastings, with sir William Cecil, and a numerous train of gentlemen, had already reached Brussels to conduct the legate to England‡. At Dover he was received by the lord Montague and the bishop of Ely; and, as he advanced, his retinue was swelled by the accession of the country gentlemen, till it amounted to eighteen hundred horse. He entered his barge at Gravesend, where he was presented, by the earl of Shrewsbury and the bishop of Durham, with a copy of the act repealing his attainder; and fixing his cross, the emblem of his dignity, in the prow,

* It was customary for the ministers to send such instructions. It was done in Edward's reign, Lansdowne MSS. iii. 19; and also in Elizabeth's, Strype, i. 32. (Clarendon Papers, 92.)

† Journals of Lords, 467. Commons, 37, 38. Ep. Pol., iv. App. 289. Strype, iii. 155.

‡ Pole, ignorant of the proceedings at Rome, had written a most urgent letter to Philip; who sent Renard to explain the objections to his admission as legate without sufficient powers. Pole replied, that in addition to his former powers, he had another bull from the pope, promising, in verbo pontificis, to ratify whatever concessions he might think proper to make. Renard lamented that this was not previously known. Immediately on the return of Renard, Pole was desired to prepare for his journey. Paillicino, ii. 411, ex registro Poli.

Nov. he proceeded by water to Westminster. The chancellor
 24. received him on his landing, the king at the gate of the palace, and the queen at the head of the staircase. After a short conversation he retired to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, which had been prepared for his residence*.

In consequence of a royal message, the lords and
 23. commons repaired to the court; and, after a few words from the chancellor, Pole, in a long harangue, returned them thanks for the act which they had passed in his favour, exhorted them to repeal, in like manner, all the statutes enacted in derogation of the papal authority, and assured them of every facility on his part to effect the re-union of the church of England with that of Rome†. The chancellor, having first taken the orders of the king and queen, replied, that the two houses would deliberate apart, and signify their determination on the following morning.

The motion for the re-union was carried almost by acclamation. In the lords every voice was raised in its favour; in the commons, out of three hundred members, two only demurred, and these desisted from their opposition the next day‡. It was determined to present a petition in the name of both houses to the king and queen, stating, that they looked back with sorrow and regret on the defection of the realm from the communion of the apostolic see; that they were ready to repeal, as far as in them lay, every statute, which had either

* Strype, iii. 157. Ep. Poli, v. App. 291. 307. 310. A writ authorizing him to exercise his powers had been signed on the 10th of November. Strype, *ibid.*

† Burnet tells us, that the queen was so much affected, that she mistook her emotion for the "quickening of a child in her belly." ii. 292. The fact took place four days before. She sent lord Montague to inform the legate, che infino allora ella non havea voluta confessare apertamente d'esser gravida: ma què nella giunta de sua S. R. s'havea sentito muovere la creatura nel ventre, e pero non lo poteva più negare. On the 27th, it was publicly announced by a circular from the council. Foxe, iii. 88. Noailles, iv. 23.

‡ Sir Ralph Bagnal (Strype, iii. 204) had refused to vote; the other grounded his objection on the oath of supremacy which he had taken. Ep. Poli, v. App. 314.

caused or supported that defection; and that they hoped, through the mediation of their majesties, to be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and to be received into the bosom of the universal church.

On the following day, the feast of St. Andrew, the Nov. queen took her seat on the throne. The king was placed 30. on her left hand, the legate, but at greater distance, on her right. The chancellor read the petition to their majesties: they spoke to the cardinal; and he, after a speech of some duration, absolved "all those present, "and the whole nation, and the dominions thereof, from "all heresy and schism, and all judgments, censures, "and penalties for that cause incurred; and restored "them to the communion of holy church in the name "of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." "Amen" resounded from every part of the hall; and the members, rising from their knees, followed the king and queen into the chapel, where *Te Deum* was chanted in thanksgiving for the event*. The next Sunday the legate, at the invitation of the citizens, made his public entry into the metropolis; and Gardiner preached at St. Paul's cross the celebrated sermon, in which he lamented in bitter terms his conduct under Henry VIII., and exhorted all, who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the catholic church†.

To proceed with this great work, the two houses and the convocation simultaneously presented separate petitions to the throne. That from the lords and commons requested their majesties to obtain from the legate all those dispensations and indulgences which the innova-

* Poli, ep. v. App. 315—318. Foxe, 91. Journal of Commons, 38.

† This sermon is noticed by Foxe, iii. 92. A Latin translation of it may be seen inter Ep. Poli, v. 293, 300. Gardiner asserts, that Henry VIII., during the rebellion in 1536, entertained serious thoughts of seeking a reconciliation with the pontiff; and that in 1541, he employed him and Knyvett, during the diet at Ratisbon, to solicit secretly the mediation of the emperor for that purpose. They were, however, discovered, and Gardiner was accused of holding communication with Contarini, the papal legate. Henry was careful to hush up the matter. See some account of it in Foxe, who knew not of Gardiner's commission, Foxe, iii. 448, 449.

tions made during the schism had rendered necessary, and particularly such as might secure the property of the church to the present possessors without scruple of conscience, or impeachment from the ecclesiastical courts. The other, from the clergy, stated their resignation of all right to those possessions of which the church had been deprived; and their readiness to acquiesce in every arrangement to be made by the legate.

- Dec. His decree was soon afterwards published: 1°. That all cathedral churches, hospitals, and schools founded during the schism, should be preserved; 2°. That all persons, who had contracted marriage within the prohibited degrees without dispensation, should remain married; 3°. That all judicial processes, made before the ordinaries, or in appeal before delegates, should be held valid; and 4°. That the possessors of church property should not, either now or hereafter, be molested, under pretence of any canons of councils, decrees of popes, or censures of the church; for which purpose, in virtue of the authority vested in him, he took from all spiritual courts and judges the cognizance of these matters, and pronounced, beforehand, all such processes and judgments invalid and of no effect*.

1555. In the mean time a joint committee of lords and commons had been actively employed in framing a most
Jan. 4. important and comprehensive bill, which deserves the attention of the reader, from the accuracy with which it distinguishes between the civil and ecclesiastical juris-

* The next year, on the 14th of July, Paul IV. published a bull, condemning and revoking, in general terms, the alienations of church property to secular uses. Burnet, iii. Rec. 3. This bull, however, did not regard the late proceedings in England; for, egli dichiara di parlare di quelle alienazioni, che si erano fatte senza le dovute solennità. Beccetti, Istoria, x. 197. But, to prevent doubts on the subject, Pole obtained from him a bull, expressly excepting the church property in England from the operation of the second bull, qua hujus regni bona ecclesiastica ab ejus sanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiuntur. Poli ep. v. 42. Sept. 16, 1555; and also, "confirming his doings respecting assurance of abbey lands, &c." Journal of Commons, 42. It was read to both houses at the opening of parliament on the 23d of October. Besides this, the cardinal obtained from him a breve declaratorium ejus bullæ, qua bonorum ecclesiasticorum alienationes rescinduntur, et confirmatorium eorum, quæ majestatis vestris remisi. Poli ep. v. 85.

dictions, and the care with which it guards against any encroachment on the part of the latter. It first repeals several statutes by name, and then, in general, all clauses, sentences, and articles in every other act of parliament made since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the supreme authority of the pope's holiness or see apostolic *. It next recites the two petitions, and the dispensation of the legate; and enacts, that every article in that dispensation shall be reputed good and effectual in law, and may be alleged and pleaded in all courts spiritual and temporal. It then proceeds to state that, though the legate hath by his decree taken away all matter of impeachment, trouble, or danger to the holders of church property, from any canon, or decree of ecclesiastical judge or council; yet, because the title of lands and hereditaments in this realm is grounded on the laws and customs of the same, and to be tried and judged in no other courts than those of their majesties, it is therefore enacted, by authority of parliament, that all such possessors of church property shall hold the same in manner and form as they would have done, had this act never been made; and, that any person who shall molest such possessors by process out of any ecclesiastical court, either within or without the realm, shall incur the penalty of premunire. Next it provides, that all papal bulls, dispensations, and privileges, not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws of the realm, may be put in execution, used, and alleged in all courts whatsoever; and concludes by declaring, that nothing in this act shall be explained to impair any

* Most readers have very confused and incorrect notions of the jurisdiction, which the pontiff, in virtue of his supremacy, claimed to exercise within the realm. From this act, and the statutes which it repeals, it follows, that that jurisdiction was comprised under the following heads: 1^o He was acknowledged as chief bishop of the christian church, with authority to reform and redress heresies, errors, and abuses within the same. 2^o To him belonged the institution or confirmation of bishops elect. 3^o He could grant to clergymen licences of non-residence, and permission to hold more than one benefice, with cure of souls. 4^o He dispensed with the canonical impediments of matrimony; and, 5^o He received appeals from the spiritual courts.

authority or prerogative belonging to the crown, in the 20th year of Henry VIII.; that the pope shall have and enjoy, without diminution or enlargement, the same authority and jurisdiction, which he might then have lawfully exercised; and, that the jurisdiction of the bishops shall be restored to that state, in which it existed at the same period. In the lords, the bill was read thrice in two days; in the commons, it was passed after a sharp debate on the third reading*. Thus was re-established, in England, the whole system of religious polity, which had prevailed for so many centuries before Henry VIII.

The French ambassador had persuaded himself, that the great object of the emperor was to employ the resources of England against his adversary the king of France; and that the fondness of Mary for her husband would induce her to gratify all his wishes, let them be ever so illegal or unjust. On this account, he continued to intrigue with the factious; he warned them that England would soon become a province under the despotic government of Spain; he exhorted them to be on the watch, to oppose every measure dictated by Philip, and to preserve, at every personal risk, their liberties for their children, and the succession to the crown for the true heir. In his despatches to his court, he described the discontent of the nation as wound up to the highest pitch; the embers of revolt, he said, were still alive; in a few months, perhaps a few weeks, the flame would burst forth with redoubled violence†. But he

* Stat. iv. 246—254. From the journals it appears, that the subject of discussion was not so much the substance of the bill, as some of its provisions involving particular interests. In the lords, Bonner, bishop of London, voted against it; the commons added two provisions respecting lands to be hereafter given to the church, and the recovery of those already taken from it; and requested the erasure of 19 lines regarding the bishop of London and the lord Wentworth. The lords agreed, and the chancellor cut out the 19 lines with a knife; yet the lord Montague, and the bishops of London, and Lichfield and Coventry, voted against the bill in its amended shape. Journals, 434.

† Noailles, iii. 318, iv. 27. 62. 76. 153. This ambassador found that he had failed in the object of his mission, in his intrigues with the discontented, and in the predictions with which he had amused his court. After this, his chagrin, and his hatred of the queen and her advisers, betray

mistook his wishes for realities ; his information frequently proved erroneous ; and his predictions were belied by the event. In the present parliament, he assured his sovereign, that, in pursuance of the emperor's plan, the queen would ask for a matrimonial crown for her husband, would place the whole power of the executive government in his hands, and would seek to have him declared presumptive heir to the crown. What projects she might have formed, we know not : but it would be rash to judge of her intentions from the malicious conjectures of Noailles ; and the fact is, that no such measures as he describes were ever proposed. The two houses, however, joined in a petition to Philip, that, " if it should happen to the queen otherwise than well, in the time of her travail, he would take upon himself the government of the realm during the minority of her majesty's issue, with the rule, order, education, and government of the said issue." The king signified his assent ; and an act passed, intrusting to him the government, till Jan. the child, if a female, were fifteen, if a male, eighteen 16. years old ; making it high treason to imagine or compass his death, or attempt to remove him from the said government and guardianship ; and binding him, in the execution of his office, to all the conditions and restrictions which were contained in the original treaty of marriage*.

The dissolution of the parliament was followed by an unexpected act of grace. The lord chancellor, accompanied himself in almost every page of his despatches, and detract much from the credit, which might otherwise be given to his representations.

* Noailles, iv. 137. Stat. of Realm, iv. 255. An unusual circumstance occurred about the close of the session. It was customary for both houses to adjourn at Christmas over the holidays ; and several members had sent for their servants and horses to visit their families during the recess. But on the 22d of Dec. orders were issued, that neither lords nor commons should depart before the end of the parliament. The two houses continued to sit, but thirty-seven members of the lower absented themselves in opposition to the royal command. A bill for the punishment of such knights and burgesses as should neglect their duty passed the commons, but the day after it had been read the first time in the lords, the parliament was dissolved. Griffith, however, the attorney-general, indicted the offenders in the king's bench. Six submitted, the rest traversed, and the matter was suffered to die away. Lord Coke represents them as seceding on account of their attachment to the reformed church. See Cobbett's Parliamentary History, i. 625, and the Journals, p. 41.

nied by several members of the council, proceeded to the
 Jan. Tower, called before him the state prisoners, still con-
 18. fined on account of the attempts of Northumberland and
 Wyatt, and informed them, that the king and queen had,
 at the intercession of the emperor, ordered them to be
 discharged *. The same favour was extended to Eliza-
 beth and Courtenay. The earl, having paid his respects
 to Philip and Mary, received a permission, equivalent
 to a command, to travel for his improvement; and,
 having remained for some time in the imperial court at
 Brussels, proceeded to Italy, with recommendatory letters
 from Philip to the princes of that country. It was be-
 lieved that the queen proposed at the same time to send
 Elizabeth to Spain, that she might reside in some con-
 vent, but was dissuaded by the policy of her husband,
 who, as he had married to secure the aid of England in
 defence of his dominions in the Netherlands, against
 the ambitious designs of the French monarch, now
 brought forward his wife's sister as presumptive heir to
 the crown, in opposition to Mary of Scotland, about to
 be married to the dauphin of France. On the departure
 of Courtenay, Elizabeth reappeared at court. By the
 king and queen she was treated with kindness and dis-
 tinction; and, after a visit of some months, returned to
 her own house in the country †. Philip made her a pres-
 ent of a diamond valued at four thousand ducats; to Mary
 he had given another valued at eight thousand ‡.

In consequence of the act restoring the exercise of
 the papal authority in England, the viscount Montague,
 the bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Carne, had been ap-
 pointed ambassadors to the Roman see. But they had
 Feb. not proceeded far on their journey when Julius died.
 18. Mar. In the preceding conclave the cardinal Farnese had
 23. employed his influence to raise Pole to the papacy: he

* They were Holgate, archbishop of York, Ambrose, Robert, Henry,
 and Andrew Dudley, sons to the late duke of Northumberland, James
 Croft, Nicholas Throckmorton, &c.

† See the reports of Michele and Soriano to the Venetian senate. Also
 Cabrera, 28

‡ Fencler's Despatches, iii. 324.

had even obtained one evening the requisite number of votes; but the English cardinal, irresolute and unambitious, bade him wait till the following morning, and on that morning another candidate was proposed and chosen. On the present vacancy Farnese espoused again the interests of his friend: he procured from the French king letters in favour of Pole; and hastened with these documents from Avignon to Rome. Before April 9. his arrival, at the very opening of the conclave, Cervini was unanimously elected, a prelate whose acknowledged merit awakened the most flattering expectations. But the new pontiff, who had taken the name of Marcellus II., died within one-and-twenty days; and the friends of 30. Pole laboured a third time to honour him with the tiara. Philip and Mary and Gardiner employed letters and messengers; the French king, though it was suspected that he secretly gave his interest to the cardinal of Ferrara, promised his best services; and Farnese, without waiting for new credentials, exhibited the letters, which he had brought to the last conclave. But the cardinals, as well in the imperial as in the French interest, refused their voices; the former believing from past events that Pole was in secret an object of suspicion to their sovereign, the latter alleging that they could not vote without new instructions in his favour. Had he been present, he might have obtained the requisite majority of suffrages; in his absence Caraffa was chosen, May and took the name of Paul IV. On the very day of the 23. coronation of this pontiff, the English ambassadors June reached Rome. Pole had foreseen that the new title of 5. king and queen of Ireland, assumed by Philip and Mary, in imitation of Henry and Edward, might create some difficulty, and had therefore requested that Ireland might be declared a kingdom before the arrival of the ambassadors*. But the death of Julius, succeeded by that of Marcellus, had prevented those pontiffs from

* Poli Ep. l. v. ep. 5.

- complying with his advice ; and the first act of the new pope, after his coronation, was to publish a bull, by which,
- June 7. at the petition of Philip and Mary, he raised the lordship of Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom*. Till this had been done, the ambassadors waited without the city :
10. three days later they were publicly introduced. They acknowledged the pontiff as head of the universal church, presented to him a copy of the act by which his authority had been re-established, and solicited him to ratify the absolution pronounced by the legate, and to confirm the bishoprics erected during the schism. Paul received them with kindness, and granted their requests. Lord Montague and the bishop of Ely were dismissed with the usual presents : Carne remained as resident ambassador†.

* See the bull in Bsovius, Ann., Eccl. tom. xx. p. 301 : and the extract from Act. Consistorial. inter Poli ep. v. 136. It was sealed with lead ; but Pole was careful to procure a second copy sealed with gold. (Ibid. 42. Such was the custom. Thus the bull giving to Henry VIII. the title of Defender of the Faith, has a gold seal to it.) As the natives of Ireland had maintained that the kings of England originally held Ireland by the donation of Adrian IV. and had lost it by their defection from the communion of Rome, the council delivered the second bull to Dr. Carey, the new archbishop of Dublin, with orders that it should be deposited in the treasury, after copies had been made, and circulated throughout the island. Extract from council book, Archæol. xviii. 183.

† The ambassadors had acted under the authority originally given to them, to negotiate with the late pontiff ; but after the departure of lord Montague other credentials arrived, by which they were deputed ambassadors to the new pope. The bishop and Carne, in consequence, went through the former ceremonial a second time, but in a private consistory on June 21. See Paul's letter to the king and queen, Poli ep. v. 136—135. A very erroneous statement of the whole transaction has been copied from Fra Paolo by most of our historians ; the above is taken from the original documents furnished by Pole's letters.

CHAPTER III.

Persecution of the reformers—sufferings of Ridley and Latimer—recantations and death of Cranmer—duration and severity of the persecution—departure of Philip—death of Gardiner—surrender by the Crown of tenths and first fruits—treasonable attempts—war with France and Scotland—victory at St. Quintin—loss of Calais—death and character of the Queen.

It was the lot of Mary to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty, no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted, the papal authority*. It might perhaps have been expected that the reformers, from their sufferings under Henry VIII., would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary. They had no sooner obtained the ascendancy during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned, burning the anabaptist, and preparing to burn the catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by the existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death; the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority. But the zeal of archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency; and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the reformed church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doc-

* This is equally true of the foreign religionists. See Calvin, de supplicio Serveti, Beza de Hæreticis a civili magistratu puniendis, and Melancthon, in locis com. c. xxxii. de ecclesia.

trines of the ancient worship with those more recently promulgated by Muncer and Socinus. By the new canon law of the metropolitan, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy : and it was ordained that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts, should be excommunicated on conviction ; and after a respite of sixteen days should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment provided by law*. Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature : by the accession of Mary the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other ; and within a short time Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents.

With whom the persecution under Mary originated is a matter of uncertainty. By the reformed writers the infamy of the measure is usually allotted to Gardiner,

* Ad extremum ad civilem magistratum ablegatur *puniendus*. (Reform. leg. cont. hæret. c. 3.) To elude the inference which may be drawn from this passage, it has been ingeniously remarked, that "there is a wide interval between the *infliction of punishment* and the *privation of life*." Mackintosh, ii. 318. not. But 1^o. even then, this passage establishes the principle of religious persecution, that it is the duty of the civil magistrate to inflict punishment on heretics condemned by ecclesiastical authority. 2^o. There cannot be a doubt that the punishment here contemplated is the *privation of life*. Such was the meaning of the words in the legal phraseology of the age. For this we have the testimony of Cranmer himself, who must be the best interpreter of his own language. When he condemned Anne Bocher to be delivered to the civil magistrate, and officially informed Edward that she was to be *deservedly punished* (condigna animadversione plectendam Wilk. Con. iv. 44), what was the punishment which he prevailed on the reluctant prince to inflict? Death by burning. When he pronounced the same sentence on Van Parris, and gave similar information to the king, (animadversione vestra regia *puniendum*. Ibid. iv. 45) what did the word *puniendum* import? Death by burning. Again, it has been remarked that in a MS. copy which belonged to the archbishop (Harl. MSS. 426) after '*puniendus*' is added, in the hand, as is thought, of Peter Martyr, vel ut in perpetuum pellatur exilium, vel ad æternas carceris deprimitur tenebras (Todd, ii. 334). But it is plain that, on revision, this suggestion was abandoned : for it was omitted "in the" later and more perfect draft of these laws, as they were completed "and finished in king Edward's reign, and were published by Archbishop "Parker in 1571." Strype, 134.

more, as far as I can judge, from conjecture and prejudice, than from real information. The charge is not supported by any authentic document: it is weakened by the general tenor of the chancellor's conduct*. All that we know with certainty is, that after the queen's marriage this question was frequently debated by the lords of the council; and that their final resolution was not communicated to her before the beginning of November. Mary returned the following answer in writing: "Touching the punishment of heretics we think-
 "eth it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving
 "in the mean time to do justice to such as, by learning,
 "would seem to deceive the simple: and the rest so to be
 "used, that the people might well perceive them not to
 "be condemned without just occasion: by which they
 "shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do
 "the like. And especially within London, I would wish
 "none to be burnt without some of the council's pre-

* The only instance in which Gardiner was known to take any part in the persecution will be mentioned later: and then he acted in virtue of his office as chancellor. When at a later period sir Francis Hastings applied to him the epithet "bloody," Persons indignantly answered, "Verely I beleeeve that if a man should ask any good-natured protestant that lived in queen Maries tyme, and hath both wit to judge and indifferency to speake the truthe without passion, he wil confesse that no one great man in that government was further off from blood and bloodiness, or from crueltie and revenge, than bishop Gardiner, who was known to be a most tender-hearted and myld man in that behalf; in so much that it was sometymes, and by some great personages, objected to him for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge that he bare: yea, to him especially it was imputed, that none of the greatest and most knowen protestantes in queen Maries reigne, were ever called to accompt, or put to trouble for religion." Ward-worde, p. 42. I add the following testimony of Ascham:—"Noe Bishop in quene Marye's days wold have dealt soe with me, for such estimac'on en those even the learnedst and wisest men (as Gardiner, Heath, and Cardinal Poole) made of my poore service, that although they knew perfectly that in religion by open writing and privy talke I was contrary unto them, yett that, when Sir Francis Inglefield by name did note me specially at the council board, Gardiner would not suffer me to be called thither, nor touched elswhere, saying such words of me as in a letter, though letters cannot blushe, yet should I blushe, to write therein to your lo'py—Winchester's good will stood not in speakeing fare, and wishing well, but he did indeed that for me, whereby my wife and children shall live the better when I am gone." Roger Ascham to Lord Leicester, in Whitaker's History of Richmondshire, p. 286. See also other instances of Gardiner's moderation in Fuller, l. viii. p. 17, and Strype's life of Sir Thos. Smith, p. 48. edit. 1820.

“ sence, and both there and every where good sermons
“ at the same time *.”

Though it had been held in the last reign that by the common law of the land heresy was a crime punishable with death, it was deemed advisable to revive the three statutes which had formerly been enacted to suppress the doctrines of the lollards †. An act for this purpose was brought into the commons in the beginning of the next year: every voice was in its favour; and in the course of four days it had passed the two houses. The reformed preachers were alarmed. The most eminent among them had long since been committed to prison, some as the accomplices of Northumberland, or Suffolk, or Wyat; others for having presumed to preach without licence; and several on charges of disorderly or seditious conduct. To ward off the impending danger, they composed and forwarded petitions, including their confession of faith, both to the king and queen, and to the lords and commons assembled in parliament. In these instruments they declare, that the canonical books of the Old, and all the books of the New Testament, are the true word of God; that the catholic church ought to be heard, as being the spouse of Christ; and that those who refuse to hear her “ obeying the word of her “ husband,” are heretics and schismatics. They profess to believe all the articles of doctrine “ set forth in the “ symbols of the councils of Nice, of Constantinople, of “ Ephesus, of Chalcedon, and of the first and fourth of “ Toledo; and in the creeds of the apostles, of Athanasius, of Irenæus, of Tertullian, and of Damasus: so “ that whosoever doth not believe generally and particularly the doctrine of those symbols, they hold him “ to err from the truth.” They reject free-will, merits,

* The date of this paper, which disproves the pretended dispute between Gardiner and Pole in Hume, c. xxxvii., is evident from its mentioning those who “ have to talk with my lord cardinal at his first coming.” It is in Collier, ii. 371. Of course Pole had not yet arrived to hold the language attributed to him by the historian.

† See this history, vol. iv. p. 331. vol. v. p. 5. Stat. iv. 244.

works of supererogation, confession and satisfaction, the invocation of the saints, and the use in the liturgy of an unknown tongue. They admit two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper; but disallow transubstantiation, communion under one kind, the sacrifice of the mass, and the inhibition of marriage to the clergy. They offer to prove the truth of their belief by public disputation; and are willing to submit to the worst of punishments, if they do not show that the doctrine of the church, the homilies, and the service set forth by king Edward, are most agreeable to the articles of Christian faith. Lastly, they warn all men against sedition and rebellion, and exhort them to obey the queen in all matters, which are not contrary to the obedience due to God, and to suffer patiently as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge*.

While the ministers in prison sought to mollify their sovereign by this dutiful address, their brethren at liberty provoked chastisement, by the intemperance of their zeal. On the eve of the new year, Ross, a celebrated preacher, collected a congregation towards mid-^{Dec} night; administered the communion; and openly prayed that God would either convert the heart of the queen, or take her out of this world. He was surprised in the fact, and imprisoned with his disciples; and the parliament hastened to make it treason to have prayed since ^{Jan.} the commencement of the session, or to pray hereafter, ^{16.} for the queen's death. It was, however, provided that all, who had been already committed for this offence, might recover their liberty, by making an humble protestation of sorrow, and a promise of amendment†.

The new year opened to the reformed preachers with a lowering aspect: before the close of the month, the storm burst on their heads. On the twenty-second ^{Jan.} of January, the chancellor called before him the chief of the prisoners, apprised them of the statutes enacted in the last parliament, and put them in mind of the punish-

* *Strype*, iii. *Rec.* 42. *Foxt*, iii. 97.

† *Stat. of Realm*, iv. 254.

Jan. ment which awaited their disobedience. In a few days
 28. the court was opened. Gardiner presided, and was attended by thirteen other bishops, and a crowd of lords and knights. Six prisoners were called before them; of whom one pretended to recant; another petitioned for time; and the other four, Hooper, the deprived bishop of Gloucester, Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, Saunders, rector of Allhallows, in London, and Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, replied, that their consciences forbade them to subscribe to the doctrines now established by law, and that the works of Gardiner himself had taught them to reject the authority of the bishop of Rome. A delay of twenty-four hours was offered them: on their second refusal, they were excommunicated; and excommunication was followed by the delivery of the recusants to the civil power. Rogers was the first victim. He perished at the stake in Feb. 4. Smithfield; Saunders underwent a similar fate at 8. Coventry, Hooper at Gloucester, and Taylor at Hadley. 9. An equal constancy was displayed by all: and, though pardon was offered them to the last moment, they scorned to purchase the continuance of life by feigning an assent to doctrines, which they did not believe. They were the protomartyrs of the reformed church of England.

To give solemnity to these, the first prosecutions under the revived statutes, they had been conducted before the lord chancellor. But whether it was, that Gardiner disapproved of the measure, or that he was called away by more important duties, he never afterwards took his seat on the bench, but transferred the ungracious office, in the metropolis, to Bonner, bishop of London. That prelate, accompanied by the lord mayor and sheriffs, and several members of the council, excommunicated six other prisoners, and delivered them Feb. to the civil power. But the next day, Alphonso di 9. Castro, a Spanish friar, confessor to Philip, preached 10. before the court, and, to the astonishment of his hearers,

condemned these proceedings in the most pointed manner. He pronounced them contrary, not only to the spirit, but to the text of the gospel: it was not by severity, but by mildness, that men were to be brought into the fold of Christ; and it was the duty of the bishops, not to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance, of their misguided brethren. Men were at a loss to account for this discourse, whether it were spontaneous on the part of the friar, or had been suggested to him by the policy of Philip, or by the humanity of the cardinal, or by the repugnance of the prelates. It made, however, a deep impression; the execution of the prisoners was suspended; the question was again debated in the council; and five weeks elapsed before the advocates of severity could obtain permission to rekindle the fires of Smithfield*.

It is not improbable that the revival of the persecution was provoked by the excesses which were, at this time, committed by the fanaticism of some among the gossellers†, and by the detection of a new conspiracy which had been organized in the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. As soon as the ringleaders were arrested, and committed to the Tower, the magistrates received instructions to watch over the public peace in their respective districts; to apprehend the propagators of seditious reports, the preachers of erroneous doctrine, the procurers of secret meetings, and those vagabonds who had no visible means of subsistence; to try, by virtue of a commission of oyer and terminer, the prisoners charged with murder, felony, and other civil offences; and, with respect to those accused of heresy, to reform them by admonition, but, if they continued obstinate, to send them before the ordinary, that "they might by charitable instruction, be removed from their naughty opinions, or be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf‡." In obedience to this com-

* Strype, iii. 209.

† See examples in Strype, 210. 212.

‡ Strype, iii. 213, 214. Burnet, ii., Rec. 283. Burnet tells us, ii. 347, and

cular, several of the preachers, with the most zealous of their disciples, were apprehended, and transmitted to the bishops, who, in general, declined the odious task of proceeding against them, on some occasions refusing, under different prettexts, to receive the prisoners, on others, suffering the charge to lie unheard, until it was forgotten. This reluctance of the prelates was remarked
 May 16. by the lord treasurer, the marquess of Winchester, who
 24. complained to the council, and procured a reprimand to be sent to Bonner, stating that the king and queen marvelled at his want of zeal and diligence, and requiring him to proceed according to law, for the advancement of God's glory, and the better preservation of the peace of the realm *. The prelates no longer hesitated; and of the prisoners sent before them by the magistrates, many recanted, but many also refused to listen to their exhortations, and defied their authority. Conviction

Hume gravely repeats the information, c. xxxvii, that this was an attempt to introduce the Spanish inquisition. The difference was immense. The magistrates were here commanded to send spiritual offenders before the ordinary: it was the leading feature in the inquisition, that it took the cognizance of spiritual offences from the ordinary. In effect, the inquisition was not introduced into England before the reign of Elizabeth, when the high commission court was established on similar principles, and, in a short time, obtained and exercised the same powers as the Spanish inquisition. See those powers in Kymer, xvi. 291—297. 546—551.

* Foxe, iii. 208. Strype, iii. 217. Burnet, ii. Rec. 285. From this reprimand, I have been inclined to doubt whether Bonner really deserved all the odium which has been heaped upon him. It certainly fell to his lot, as bishop of London, to condemn a great number of the gospellers: but I can find no proof that he was a persecutor from choice, or went in search of victims. They were sent to him by the council, or by commissioners appointed by the council. Foxe, iii. 208. 210. 223. 317. 328. 344. 5.2. 588. 660. 723. Strype, iii. 239, 240: and as the law stood, he could not refuse to proceed, and deliver them over to the civil power. He was, however, careful in the proceedings to exact from the prisoners, and to put on record, the names of the persons by whom, and a statement of the reasons for which, they had been sent before him. Foxe, iii. 514. 533. Several of the letters from the council show that he stood in need of a stimulus to goad him to the execution of this unwelcome office; and he complained much that he was compelled to try prisoners who were not of his own diocese. "I am," said he to Philpot, "right sorry for your trouble: neither would I you should think that I am the cause thereof. I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters, but I must be obedient to my betters. And I fear men speak of me otherwise than I deserve." Foxe, iii. 462. Of the council, the most active in these prosecutions, either from choice, or from duty, was the marquess of Winchester. See Foxe, iii. 203. 208. 317.

followed conviction; and the fate of one victim served only to encourage others to imitate his constancy. To describe the sufferings of each individual would fatigue the patience, and torture the feelings of the reader; I shall therefore content myself with laying before him the last moments of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the most distinguished among the English reformers. During the preceding reign they had concurred in sending the anabaptists to the stake: in the present they were compelled to suffer the same punishment which they had so recently inflicted.

The history of the archbishop has been sufficiently detailed in the preceding pages. Ridley was born at Wilmontswick in Tynedale, had studied at Cambridge, Paris, and Louvain, and, on his return to England, ob-¹⁵²⁹ tained preferment in the church by the favour of Cranmer. During the reign of Henry he imitated his patron, by conforming to the theological caprice of the monarch: but on the accession of Edward he openly avowed his sentiments, and gave his valuable aid to the metropolitan. His services were rewarded with the bishop-¹⁵⁴⁷ ric of Rochester, and, on the deprivation of Bonner, with Sept. that of London; and, as under Henry he had been^{5.} employed to examine and detect sacramentaries, so, ^{1550.} Apr under the son of Henry, he sate in judgment at the 1. condemnation of heretics*. In learning he was acknowledged superior to the other reformed prelates; and his refusal to avail himself of the permission to marry, though he condemned not the marriages of others, added to his reputation. Unfortunately his zeal for the new doctrines led him to support the treasonable projects of Northumberland; and his celebrated ser-¹⁵⁵³ mon against the claims of Mary and Elizabeth furnished July sufficient ground for his committal to the Tower. There^{26.} he had the weakness to betray his conscience by conforming to the ancient worship: but his apostacy was

* State Papers, i. 843. Wilk. Con. iv. 45

severely lashed by the pen of Bradford ; and Ridley, by his speedy repentance and subsequent resolution, consoled and edified his afflicted brethren *.

- Latimer, at the commencement of his career, displayed little of that strength of mind, or that stubbornness of opinion, which we expect to find in the man who aspires to the palm of martyrdom. He first attracted notice by the violence of his declamations against Melancthon and the German reformers ; then professed himself their disciple and advocate ; and ended by publicly renouncing their doctrine, at the command of Cardinal Wolsey.
1529. Two years had not elapsed, before he was accused of re-asserting what he had abjured. The archbishop excommunicated him for contumacy ; and a tardy and reluctant abjuration saved him from the stake. Again he relapsed ; but appealed from the bishops to the king.
1531. Henry rejected the appeal ; and Latimer on his knees acknowledged his error, craved pardon of the convocation, and promised amendment †. He had, however, powerful friends at court, Butts the king's physician, Cromwell the vicar-general, and Anne Boleyn the queen consort. By the last he was retained as chaplain. Henry heard him preach ; and, delighted with the coarseness of his invectives against the papal authority,
1535. gave him the bishopric of Worcester. In this situation he was cautious not to offend by too open an avowal of his opinions : but the debate on the six articles put his
1539. orthodoxy to the test ; and with Cranmer he ventured to oppose the doctrine, but had not the good fortune with Cranmer to lull the suspicion, of the royal theologian. Henry was, however, satisfied with his resignation of the bishopric, and suffered him still to officiate as vicar of St. Bride's. Yet there he contrived to involve
1546. himself in new difficulties. He was brought with Crome May and other gospellers before the royal commissioners.
- 9.

* " He never after polluted himself with that filthy dregs of anti-christian service." Foxe, iii. 836.

† Foxe, iii. 379. 383. Willk Conc. iii. 748, 749.

They boldly avowed their belief, and perished for it at July the stake: *he* disguised his under evasive and ambiguous language, which, though it deceived no one, saved him from the fate of his colleagues*. He was permitted to languish in prison, till the death of the king, and the accession of Edward, restored him to liberty, and recalled him to court. As preacher to the infant monarch, he lashed with apparent indifference the vices of all classes of men; inveighed with intrepidity against the abuses which already disfigured the new church; and painted in the most hideous, or most ludicrous colours the practices of the ancient worship. His eloquence was bold and vehement, but poured forth in coarse and sarcastic language, and seasoned with quaint conceits, low jests, and buffoonery. Such, however, as it was, it gratified the taste of his hearers; and the very boys in the streets, as he proceeded to preach, would follow at his heels, exclaiming, "have at them, father Latimer, have at them." But it was his misfortune, as it was that of Ridley, to abandon, on some occasions, theological for political subjects. During the reign of Edward, he treated in the pulpit the delicate question of the succession, and pronounced it better that God should take away the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, than that, by marrying foreign princes, they should endanger the existence of the reformed church. The same zeal 1553. probably urged him to similar imprudence in the beginning of Mary's reign, when he was imprisoned, by order of the council, on a charge of sedition†.

From the Tower Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, 1554. after the insurrection of Wyatt, were conducted to Oxford, and ordered to confer on controverted points with the deputies of the convocation and of the two universities. The disputation was held in public on three successive days. Cranmer was severely pressed with passages from the fathers; Ridley maintained his former

* See State Papers in the reign of Henry VIII., i. p. 846. 48. 50.

† Strype, iii. 131. Foxe, iii. 383.

reputation; and Latimer excused himself on the plea of old age, of disuse of the Latin tongue, and of weakness of memory. In conclusion, Weston the moderator decided in favour of his own church; and the hall resounded with cries of "vincit veritas:" but the prisoners wrote in their own vindication to the queen, maintaining that they had been silenced by the noise, not by the arguments, of their opponents*. Two days later they were again called before Weston; and, on April 20. their refusal to conform to the established church, were pronounced obstinate heretics. From that moment they lived in daily expectation of the fate which awaited them: but eighteen months were suffered to elapse 1555. before Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, as papal sub-delegate, and Martin and Story as royal commissioners, arrived at Oxford, and summoned the archbishop before them†. The provisions of the canon law were scrupulously observed; Cranmer had been served, as a matter of form, with a citation to answer before the pontiff in the course of eighty days; a distinction which he owed to his office of archbishop: his companions, having appeared twice before the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, as commissioners of the legate, and twice refused to renounce their opinions, were degraded 30. from the priesthood, and delivered to the secular power. Oct. 1. It was in vain that Soto, an eminent Spanish divine, laboured to shake their resolution. Latimer refused to see him: Ridley was not convinced by his reasoning‡. At the stake, to shorten their sufferings, bags of gun-

* Cranmer, in his letter to the council, says: "I never knewe nor heard of a more confused disputation in all my life. For albeit there was one appoynted to dispute agaynste me, yet every man spake hys mynde, and brought forth what hym liked without order, and such hast was made, that no answer could be suffered to be given." Letters of Martyrs in Eiman. Coll. No. 60. let. 3. This is an exact counterpart to the complaints of the catholics respecting similar disputations in the time of Edward.

† From the proceedings it appears that Cranmer had been arraigned for high treason, had pleaded guilty, and had received judgment. He said, he had confessed more than was true. Foxe apud Wordsworth, iii. 533.

‡ Alter ne loqui quidem cum eo voluit; cum altero est locutus, sed nihil proleceit. Pole to Philip, v. 47.

powder were suspended from their necks. Latimer Oct expired almost the moment that the fire was kindled : 16. but Ridley was doomed to suffer the most excruciating torments. To hasten his death, his brother-in-law had almost covered him with fagots : but the pressure checked the progress of the flames, and the lower extremities of the victim were consumed, while the more vital parts remained untouched. One of the by-standers, hearing him repeatedly exclaim, that " he could not " burn," opened the pile ; and an explosion of gunpowder almost immediately extinguished his life. It is said that the spectators were reconciled to these horrors, by the knowledge that every attempt had been previously made to save the victims from the stake : * the constancy with which they suffered consoled the sorrow, and animated the zeal, of their disciples.

From the window of his cell the archbishop had seen his two friends led to execution. At the sight his resolution began to waver ; and he let fall some hints of a willingness to relent, and of a desire to confer with the legate †. But in a short time he recovered the tranquillity of his mind, and addressed, in defence of his Nov. doctrine, a long letter to the queen ; which at her request was answered by cardinal Pole ‡. At Rome, on 29. the expiration of the eighty days, the royal proctors demanded judgment ; and Paul, in a private consistory, Dec. pronounced the usual sentence §. The intelligence of 14. this proceeding awakened the terrors of the archbishop. He had not the fortitude to look death in the face. To

* De illis supplicium est sumpsum, non illibenter, ut ferunt, spectante populo, cum cogitum fuisset nihil esse prætermisum, quod ad eorum salutem pertineret. Ibid.

† Is non ita se pertinacem ostendit, atque se cupere mecum loqui. Ibid. Magnam spem initio dederat, eique veniam Polus ab ipsa regina impetra-verat. Dudith, inter ep. Poli, i. 143.

‡ The letter and answer may be seen in Foxe, iii. 563. Strype's Cranmer, App. 206. Le Grand, i. 289.

§ Ex actis consistor. apud Quirini, v. 140. Foxe, iii. 836. Much confusion has arisen from erroneous dates in Foxe, iii. 544. The citation was served on Wednesday the 11th of Sept. The eighty days expired on the 29th of November.

- save his life he feigned himself a convert to the established creed, openly condemned his past delinquency, and, stifling the remorse of his conscience, in seven successive instruments abjured the faith which he had taught, and approved of that which he had opposed. He first presented his submission to the council; and, as that submission was expressed in ambiguous language, replaced it by another in more ample form.
- Feb. 14. When the bishops of London and Ely arrived to perform the ceremony of his degradation, he appealed from the judgment of the pope to a general council: but, before
16. the prelates left Oxford, he sent them two other papers; by the first of which he submitted to all the statutes of the realm respecting the supremacy and other subjects, promised to live in quietness and obedience to the royal authority, and submitted his book on the sacrament to the judgment of the church and of the next general council; in the second he professed to believe on all points, and particularly respecting the sacraments, as the catholic church then did believe, and always had believed from the beginning*. To Ridley and Latimer life had been offered, on condition that they should recant: but when the question was put, whether the same favour might be granted to Cranmer, it was decided by the council in the negative. His political offences, it was said, might be overlooked; but he had been the cause of the schism in the reign of Henry, and the author of the change of religion in the reign of Edward; and such offences required that he should
24. suffer "for ensample's sake †." The writ was directed to the mayor or bailiffs of Oxford, the day of execution was fixed: still he cherished a hope of pardon; and in a fifth recantation, as full and explicit as the most zealous of his adversaries could wish, declared that he was not actuated by fear or favour, but that he abjured the erroneous doctrines which he had formerly maintained,

* The submissions are in Strype, iii. 233, 234; the appeal in Foxe, iii. 556.

† Strype's Cranmer, 385.

for the discharge of his own conscience, and the instruction of others*. This paper was accompanied with a letter to Cardinal Pole, in which he begged a respite during a few days, that he might have leisure to give to the world a more convincing proof of his repentance, and might do away, before his death, the scandal given by his past conduct†. This prayer was cheerfully granted by the queen; and Cranmer in a sixth confession acknowledged, that he had been a greater persecutor of the church than Paul, and wished that like Paul he might be able to make amends. He could not rebuild what he had destroyed: but, as the penitent thief on the cross, by the testimony of his lips, obtained mercy, so he (Cranmer) trusted that, by this offering of his lips, he should move the clemency of the Almighty. He was unworthy of favour, and worthy not only of temporal but of eternal punishment. He had offended against king Henry and queen Catherine: he was the cause and author of the divorce, and, in consequence, also of the evils which resulted from it. He had blasphemed against the sacrament, had sinned against Heaven, and had deprived men of the benefits to be derived from the eucharist. In conclusion, he conjured the pope to forgive his offences against the apostolic see, the king and queen to pardon his transgressions against them, the whole realm, the universal church, to take pity of his wretched soul, and God to look on him with mercy at the hour of his death‡. He had undoubtedly flattered himself that this humble tone, these

Mar
18.

* This recantation is in Foxe, iii. 559.

† Il envoya prier M. le cardinal Polus de differer pour quelques jours son execution, esperant que dieu l'inspireroit cependant: de quoi ceste royne et susdit Cardinal furent fort ayses, estimans que par l'exemple de sa repentance publique la religion en sera plus fortifiée en ce royaume: ayant depuis faict une confession publique et amende honorable et volontaire. Noailles, v. 319. In the council-book we meet with two entries, one of March 13, the other of March 16, by which the printers Rydall and Copeland are ordered to give up the printed copies of Cranmer's recantation to Cawoode, the queen's printer, that they may be burnt. These orders from the dates appear to refer to the fifth recantation. Perhaps Rydall and Copeland had invaded the privilege of the queen's printer.

‡ See it in Strype, iii. 235.

expressions of remorse, these cries for mercy, would move the heart of the queen. She, indeed, little suspecting the dissimulation which had dictated them, rejoiced at the conversion of the sinner; but she had also persuaded herself, or been persuaded by others, that public justice would not allow her to save him from the punishment to which he had been condemned.

Mar. At length the fatal morning arrived: at an early
21. hour, Garcina, a Spanish friar, who had frequently visited the prisoner since his condemnation, came, not to announce a pardon, but to comfort and prepare him for the last trial. Entertaining no suspicion of his sincerity, Garcina submitted to his consideration a paper, which he advised him to read at the stake, as a public testimony of his repentance. It consisted of five parts: a request that the spectators would pray with him; a form of prayer for himself; an exhortation to others to lead a virtuous life; a direction to declare the queen's right to the crown; and a confession of faith, with a retraction of the doctrine in his book on the eucharist. Cranmer, having dissembled so long, did not hesitate to carry on the deception. He transcribed and signed the paper; and, giving one copy to the Spaniard, retained the other for his own use. But when the friar was gone, he appears to have made a second copy, in which, entirely omitting the fourth article, the declaration of the queen's right, he substituted, in lieu of the confession contained in the fifth, a disavowal of the six retractations which he had already made*. Of his motives we

* Compare Foxe, iii. 559, with Strype, iii. 236. To extenuate the fall of Cranmer, his friends have said that either these recantations are forgeries, or that he was seduced to make them by the artful promises of persons sent from the court for that purpose. But this pretence is refuted by his last speech, and gives the lie to his own solemn declaration; for, instead of making any such apology for himself, he owns that his confessions proceeded from a wish to save his life. "I renounce and refuse them, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart; and written for fear of death, and to save my life, *if it might be*: and that is, all such bills and papers as I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue".... "Always hitherto I have been a hater of falsehood and a

can judge only from his conduct. Probably he now considered himself doubly armed. If a pardon were announced, he might take the benefit of it, and read the original paper: if not, by reading the copy he would disappoint the expectations of his adversaries, and repair the scandal which he had given to his brethren. At the appointed hour the procession set forward, and, on account of the rain, halted at the church of St. Mary, where the sermon was preached by Dr. Cole. Cranmer stood on a platform opposite the pulpit, appearing, as a spectator writes, "the very image of sorrow." His face was bathed in tears; his eyes were sometimes raised to heaven, sometimes fixed through shame on the earth. At the conclusion of the sermon he began to read his paper, and was heard with profound silence till he came to the fifth article. But when he recalled all his former recantations, rejected the papal authority, and confirmed the doctrine contained in his book, he was interrupted by the murmurs and agitation of the audience. The lord Williams called to him to "remember himself, and play the Christian." "I do," replied Cranmer; "it is now too late to dissemble. I must now speak the truth." As soon as order could be restored, he was conducted to the stake, declaring that he had never changed his belief; that his recantations had been wrung from him by the hope of life; and that, "as his hand had offended by writing contrary to his heart, it should be the first to receive its punishment." When the fire was kindled, to the surprise of the spectators, he thrust his hand into the flame, exclaiming, "this hath offended." His sufferings were short; the flames rapidly ascended above his head; and he expired in a few moments. The catholics consoled their disappointment by invectives against his insincerity and falsehood; the

"lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled." These words certainly amount to an acknowledgment that he had written such recantations, though no promise of life had been made to him: indeed, it is evident from Noailles, v. 319, that he did not openly ask for mercy though he hoped to obtain it.

protestants defended his memory by maintaining that his constancy at the stake had atoned for his apostacy in the prison*.

Historians are divided with respect to the part which Pole acted during these horrors. Most are willing to acquit him entirely; a few, judging from the influence which he was supposed to possess, have allotted to him a considerable share of the blame. In a confidential letter to the cardinal of Augsburg he has unfolded to us his own sentiments without reserve. He will not, he says, deny that there may be men, so addicted to the most pernicious errors themselves, and so apt to seduce others, that they may justly be put to death, in the same manner as we amputate a limb to preserve the whole body. But this is an extreme case: and, even when it happens, every gentler remedy should be applied before such punishment is inflicted. In general, lenity is to be preferred to severity; and the bishops should remember that they are fathers as well as judges, and ought to show the tenderness of parents, even when they are compelled to punish. This has always been his opinion; it was that of his colleagues who presided with him at the council of Trent, and also of the prelates who composed that assembly†. His conduct in England Dec. was conformable to these professions. On the deprivation of Cranmer he was appointed archbishop; and his consecration took place on the day after the death of his

* See a most interesting narrative by an eye-witness, in Strype's *Cranmer*, 384. The seven recantations of Cranmer were published by Cawoode, with Bonner's approbation, under the title of "All the submyssions and recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late archebysshop of Canterburye, truly set forth in Latyn and English, agreeable to the originales, wrytten and subscribed with his own hand." It has been pretended that the seventh of these is a forgery, because it is contrary to his declaration at his death: but the same reason would prove that they were all forgeries, for he then revoked them all. But that he actually wrote and subscribed a seventh, is evident from Foxe (*Acts and Mon.* 559), and, as he gave a copy so subscribed to Garcina, why should we doubt that it was that which was published as such?

† *Poli* epist. iv. 156. See also in Foxe, iii. 659, Bonner's letter to him of Dec. 26, 1556, which shows that the cardinal disapproved of some of Bonner's proceedings against the reformers.

predecessor*. From that moment the persecution 1556, ceased in the diocese of Canterbury. Pole found sufficient exercise for his zeal in reforming the clergy, re- pairing the churches, and re-establishing the ancient discipline. His severity was exercised against the dead rather than the living; and his delegates, when they visited the universities in his name, ordered the bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign divines, who had taught the new doctrines at Cambridge, to be taken up and burnt. But his moderation displeased the more zealous; they called in question his orthodoxy; and, in the last year of his life (perhaps to refute the calumny), he issued a commission for the prosecution of heretics within his diocese. Five persons were condemned: four months afterwards they suffered, but at a time when the cardinal lay on his death-bed, and was probably ignorant of their fate†.

It had at first been hoped that a few of these barbarous exhibitions would silence the voices of the preachers, and check the diffusion of their doctrines. In general they produced conformity to the established worship: but they also encouraged hypocrisy and perjury. It cannot be doubted that among the higher classes there were some who retained an attachment to the doctrines which they professed under Edward, and to which they afterwards returned under Elizabeth. Yet it will be useless to seek among the names of the sufferers for a single individual of rank, opulence, or importance‡. All

* It has been said that Pole hastened the death of Cranmer, that he might get possession of the archbishopric. But the life of Cranmer, after his deprivation, could be no obstacle. The fact is, that Pole procured several respite for Cranmer, and thus prolonged his life. Noailles, v. 319. Dudith, inter ep. Poli, i. 43.

† Wilk. Con. iv. 173, 174. Foxe, iii. 750. It is a mistake to suppose that inquisitors of heretical pravity were appointed by Pole in the convocation of 1558. See Wilkins iv. 156.

‡ Perhaps I should except sir John Cheke, preceptor to the late king, and to many of the nobility. Yet I suspect that his incarceration was for some other cause than religion, as he was apprehended and brought from the Low Countries in company with sir Peter Carew. However, Feckenham, dean of St. Paul's, prevailed on him to conform; and, to show his sincerity, he persuaded, after several discussions, twenty-eight other prisoners.

of this description embraced, or pretended to embrace, the ancient creed: the victims of persecution, who dared to avow their real sentiments, were found only in the lower walks of life. Of the reformed clergy a few suffered: some, who were already in prison, and some whose zeal prompted them to brave the authority of the law. Others, who aspired not to the crown of martyrdom, preferred to seek an asylum in foreign climes. The Lutheran protestants refused to receive them, because they were heretics, rejecting the corporeal presence in the sacrament*: but they met with a cordial welcome from the disciples of Calvin and Zwinglius, and obtained permission to open churches in Strasburgh, Frankfort, Basle, Geneva, Arau, and Zurich. Soon, however, the demon of discord interrupted the harmony of the exiles. Each followed his own judgment; some retained with pertinacity the book of common prayer and the articles of religion published under Edward; others, deriving new lights from the society of foreign religionists, demanded a form of service less defiled with superstition; and, with this view, adopted in their full extent the rigid principles of the Genevan theology. Dissension, reproaches, and schisms, divided the petty churches abroad, and from them extended to the reformed ministers at home. The very prisons became theatres of controversy; force was occasionally required to restrain the passions of the contending parties; and the men who lived in the daily expectation of being summoned to the stake for their denial of the ancient creed, found leisure to condemn and revile each other for difference of opinion respecting the use of habits and ceremonies, and the abstruse mysteries of grace and predestination †.

The persecution continued till the death of Mary.

soners to follow his example, and sat on the bench at the trial of some others. He died the next year, if we may believe the reformed writers, of remorse for his apostacy. See Strype, iii. 315. Rec. 186—189, and a letter from Priuli inter ep. Poli, v. 346.

* *Vociferantem martyres Anglicos esse martyres diaboli.* Melancthon apud Heylin, 250. Pet. Martyr, *ibid.*

† Phoenix, ii. 44.

Sometimes milder counsels seemed to prevail; and on one occasion all the prisoners were discharged on the easy condition of taking an oath to be true to God and the queen *. But these intervals were short; and, after some suspense, the spirit of intolerance was sure to resume the ascendancy. Then new commissions were issued by the crown †. The magistrates were careful to fulfil their instructions; and the council urged the bishops "to reclaim the prisoners, or to deal with them "according to law." The reformed writers have described, in glowing colours, the sufferings, and sought to multiply the number, of the victims; while the catholics have maintained that the reader should distrust the exaggerations of men heated with enthusiasm and exasperated by oppression; and that from the catalogue of the martyrs should be expunged the names of all who were condemned as felons or traitors, or who died peaceably in their beds, or who survived the publication of their martyrdom, or who would for their heterodoxy have been sent to the stake by the reformed prelates themselves, had they been in possession of the power ‡. Yet these deductions will take but little from the infamy of the measure. After every allowance it will be found that, in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion; a number, at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is nowhere liable to the penalties of death.

If anything could be urged in extenuation of these cruelties, it must have been the provocation given by the reformers. The succession of a catholic sovereign had deprived them of office and power: had suppressed the English service, the idol of their affections; and had

* Strype, iii. 307. Foxe, iii. 660.

† See similar commissions under Edward, Rymer, xv. 181—183. 250—252. Many were also issued under Elizabeth.

‡ See the second part of note (D).

re-established the ancient worship, which they deemed antichristian and idolatrous. Disappointment embittered their zeal; and enthusiasm sanctified their intemperance. They heaped on the queen, her bishops, and her religion, every indecent and irritating epithet which language could supply. Her clergy could not exercise their functions without danger to their lives; a dagger was thrown at one priest in the pulpit; a gun was discharged at another; and several wounds were inflicted on a third, while he administered the communion in his church. The chief supporters of the treason of Northumberland, the most active among the adherents of Wyatt, professed the reformed creed: an impostor was suborned to personate Edward VI.*; a pretended spirit, in reality a young woman called Elizabeth Croft, published denunciations against the queen, from a hole in a wall; some congregations prayed for her death; tracts filled with libellous and treasonable matter were transmitted from the exiles in Germany †; and successive insurrections were planned by the fugitives in France. It is not improbable that such excesses would have considerable influence with statesmen, who might deem it expedient to suppress sedition by prosecution for heresy; but I am inclined to believe that the queen herself was not actuated so much by motives of policy as of conscience; that she had imbibed the same intolerant opinion, which Cranmer and Ridley laboured to instil into the young mind of Edward: "that, as Moses ordered blasphemers to be put to death, so it was the duty of a christian prince, and more so of one who bore the title of defender of the faith, to eradicate the cockle from the field of God's church, to cut out the

* His name was Fetherstone. For the first offence he was publicly whipped; for the repetition of it was executed as a traitor. Stowe, 626. 628. Noailles says falsely, that he was torn to pieces by four horses, as traitors were sometimes in France. v. 318.

† If scurrility and calumny form the merit of a libel, it will be difficult to find anything to rival these publications. The reader will meet with some samples in Strype iii. 251. 252. 328. 388. 410. 460.

“gangrene, that it might not spread to the sounder “parts*.” In this principle both parties seem to have agreed: the only difference between them regarded its application, as often as it affected themselves.

But it is now time to turn from these cruelties to the affairs of state. The French ambassador, when he congratulated Philip on the marriage, had been ordered to express an ardent wish for the continuation of the amity between England and France; and the new king, aware of the declaration of Henry, that he had no league but that of friendship with Mary, coldly replied, that he should never think of drawing the nation into a war, as long as it was for its interest to preserve peace. This ambiguous answer alarmed the French cabinet: it was expected that England would in a short time make common cause with Spain and the Netherlands against France; and Noailles was informed that his sovereign had no objection to a negotiation for a general peace, provided the first motion did not appear to originate from him. Mary offered her mediation; Pole and Gardiner solicited the concurrence of Charles and Henry; and the two monarchs, after much hesitation, gave their consent. But pride, or policy, induced them to affect an indifference which they did not feel. Many weeks passed in useless attempts by each to draw from the other some intimation of the terms to which he would consent; and as many more were lost in deciding

* Thus Edward was made to say, *Etsi regibus quidem omnibus nobis tamen qui fidei defensor peculiari quodam titulo vocitatur, maximæ præ cæteris curæ esse debet, to eradicate the cockle, &c. Rym. xv. 182. 250. To the same purpose Elizabeth, in a commission for the burning of heretics, to sir Nicholas Bacon, says, “they have been justly declared “heretics, and therefore, as corrupt members to be cut off from the rest of “the flock of Christ, lest they should corrupt others professing the true “christian faith, we, therefore, according to regal function and office, “minding the execution of justice in this behalf, require you to award “and make out our writ of execution,” &c. . . . Rym. xv. 740. And again, *Nos igitur ut zelator justitiæ et fidei catholicæ defensor, volentesque hujusmodi hæreses et errores ubique (quantum in nobis est) eradicare et extirpare, ac hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna puniri, &c. Id. xv. 741.**

on the persons of the negotiators, because etiquette required that all employed by the one should be of equal rank with those employed by his opponent. At length
 May 22. the congress opened at Marque, within the English pale; where the cardinal, Gardiner, Arundel, and Paget, appeared as the representatives of Mary, the mediating sovereign. It was soon found that a treaty was impracticable: Charles would not abandon the interests of his ally Philibert duke of Savoy, and Henry would not restore the dominions of that prince, unless he were to receive Milan from the emperor. Yet the necessities of the belligerent powers imperiously re-
 June 8. quired a cessation of war; and the English ministers, at the conclusion of the congress, returned with the persuasion, that, notwithstanding the insuperable objections to a peace, it would not be difficult to conclude a
 1556. truce for several years; which was accordingly accom-
 Feb. plished a few months afterwards*.

6 From the moment of his arrival in England, Philip had sought to ingratiate himself with the natives. He had conformed to the national customs, and appeared to be delighted with the national amusements. He endeavoured to attach the leading men to his interest, by the distribution among them of pensions from his own purse, under the decent pretence of rewarding the services rendered to his wife during the insurrection: and, throwing aside the hauteur and reserve of the Spanish character, he became courteous and affable, granting access to every suitor, even to those in the humblest condition of life, and dismissing all with answers, expressive of his sympathy, if not promissory of his support. In the government of the realm he appeared not to take any active part; and, when favours were conferred, was careful to attribute them to the bounty of the queen, claiming for himself no other merit than that of a well-wisher and intercessor. But he laboured

* See the despatches of Noailles through the whole of vol. iv.

in vain. The antipathy of the English was not to be subdued; personally, indeed, he was always treated with respect, but his attendants met with daily insults and injuries; and when, in answer to their complaints, he referred them to the courts of law for redress, they replied that justice was not to be obtained against the natives, through the dilatory form of the proceedings, and the undisguised partiality of the judges*.

Under these circumstances the king grew weary of his stay in England, and his secret wishes were aided by letters from his father, who, wearied out with disease and the cares of government, earnestly entreated him to return; but the queen, believing herself in a state to give him an heir to his dominions, extorted from him a promise not to leave her, till after her expected delivery. The delusion was not confined to herself and Philip; even the females of her family and her medical attendants entertained the same opinion. Preparations were made; public prayers were ordered for her safety, and that of her child; her physicians were kept in daily attendance; ambassadors were named to announce the important intelligence to foreign courts; and even May letters were written beforehand, with blank spaces which 28. might afterwards be filled up with the sex of the child and the date of the birth†. Week after week passed away: still Mary's expectations were disappointed; and it was generally believed that she was in the same situation with the lady Ambrose Dudley, who very recently had mistaken for pregnancy a state of disease. But the midwife, contrary to her own conviction, thought proper to encourage the hopes of the king and queen; and, on a supposition of miscalculation of time, two more months were suffered to elapse before the delusion was removed‡. Sometimes it was rumoured

* MS. Report of Soriano to the Venet. Senate.

† Those addressed to the emperor, the kings of France, Hungary, Bohemia, to several queens, and to the Doge of Venice, are still in the State Paper office. See transcripts for the new Rymer, 353, 4.

‡ The queen yielded again to this delusion in the beginning of 1558,

that Mary had died in child-bed ; sometimes that she had been delivered of a son ; her enemies indulged in sarcasms, epigrams, and lampoons ; and the public mind was kept in a constant state of suspense and expectation. At last, the royal pair, relinquishing all hope, proceeded in state from Hampton-court through London to Greenwich ; whence Philip, after a short stay, departed for Flanders. He left the queen with every demonstration of attachment, and recommended her in strong terms to the care of cardinal Pole*.

Mary consoled her grief for the absence of her husband by devoting the more early part of each day to practices of charity and devotion, and the afternoon to affairs of state, to which she gave such attention as in a short time injured her health. The king, though occupied by the war with France, continued to exercise considerable influence in the government of the kingdom. He maintained a continual correspondence with the ministers ; and no appointment was made, no measure was carried into execution, without his previous knowledge and consent†. Before his departure, he had reluctantly acquiesced in the wish of the queen, who, considering the impoverished state of the church, judged it her duty to restore to it such ecclesiastical property, as during the late reigns had been vested in the crown. She had renounced the supremacy, could she retain the wealth which resulted from the assumption of that authority ? She saw the clergy suffering under the pressure of want, was she not bound to

and Philip wrote to her on Jan. 21, that the announcement of her pregnancy was "the best news which he had received in alleviation of his grief for the loss of Calais." See *Apuntamientos para la Historia del Rey Don Felipe II, por Don Tomas Gonzalez*, p. 4. The documents quoted in this work are at Simancas.

* Noailles, iv. 331. 334. v. 12. 50. 77. 83. 99. 126. Michele's memoir to the senate, MSS. Barberini, 1208. The cabinet, after his departure, consisted of the cardinal, whenever he could and would attend (for he objected to meddle in temporal matters), the chancellor and treasurer, the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, the bishop of Ely and lord Paget, Rochester, and Petre, the secretary. See the instrument of appointment in Burnet, iii. Rec. 256.

† Poli ep v. 41. 44.

furnish relief out of that portion of their property which still remained in her hands? Her ministers objected the amount of her debts, the poverty of the exchequer, and the necessity of supporting the dignity of the crown: but she replied, that "she set more by "the salvation of her soul, than by ten such crowns." On the opening of the parliament, to relieve the apprehensions of the other possessors of church property, a papal bull was read, confirming the grant already made by the legate, and, for greater security, excepting it from the operation of another bull recently issued: after which Gardiner explained to the two houses the wants of the clergy and of the crown, and the solicitude of the queen to make adequate provision for both. He spoke that day and the next, with an ability and eloquence that excited universal applause*. But the exertion was too great for his debilitated frame. His health had long been on the decline: at his return from the house on the second day, he repaired to his chamber, and, having lingered three weeks, expired. Nov 12. His death was a subject of deep regret to Mary, who lost in him a most able, faithful, and zealous servant; but it was hailed with joy by the French ambassador, the factious, and the reformers, who considered him as the chief support of her government†. During his illness he edified all around him by his piety and resignation, often observing, "I have sinned with Peter, but "have not yet learned to weep bitterly with Peter‡."

* His duobus diebus ita mihi visus est non modo seipsum iis rebus superasse, quibus ceteros superare solet, ingenio, eloquentia, prudentia, pietate, sed etiam ipsas sui corporis vires. Pole to Philip, v. 46. From this and similar passages in the letters of Pole, I cannot believe that that jealousy existed between him and Gardiner, which it has pleased some historians to suppose.

† See note (D).

‡ "He desired that the passion of our Saviour might be redde unto him, "and when they came to the denial of St. Peter, he bid them stay there, "for (saythe he) negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed nondum flevi "amare cum Petro." Wardword, 48. Speaking of Gardiner's sickness, Pole writes thus: dicam quasi simul cum eo religio et justitia laborarent, isic ab eo tempore, quo is negotare cepit, utramque in hoc regno esse infirmatam, rursusque impietatem et injustitiam vires colligere cepisse.

By his will he bequeathed all his property to his royal mistress, with a request that she would pay his debts, and provide for his servants. It proved but an inconsiderable sum; though his enemies had accused him of having amassed between thirty and forty thousand pounds*.

The indisposition of the chancellor did not prevent the ministers from introducing a bill for a subsidy into the lower house. It was the first aid that Mary had asked of her subjects: but Noailles immediately began his intrigues, and procured four of the best speakers among the commons to oppose it in every stage. It had been proposed to grant two fifteenths, with a subsidy of four shillings in the pound: but, whether it were owing to the hirelings of Noailles, or to the policy of the ministers, who demanded more than they meant to accept, Mary, by message, declined the two fifteenths, and was content with a subsidy of less amount than had been originally proposed†.

The death of Gardiner interrupted the plans of the council. That minister had undertaken to procure the consent of parliament to the queen's plan of restoring the church property vested in the crown: now Mary herself assumed his office, and, sending for a deputation from each house, explained her wish, and the reasons

Nov.
23. on which it was grounded. In the lords, the bill passed

Poli ep. v. 52. I give this quotation, because it has been brought as a plain proof that Gardiner was the very soul of the persecution! Soames, iv. 382.

* Ibid. 206.

† The subsidy was of two shillings in the pound on lands, eight pence on goods to ten pounds, twelve pence to twenty pounds, and sixteen pence above twenty. Stat. iv. 301.: but those who paid for lands were not rated for their personalities. Lord Talbot tells his father, that "the common" house would have granted *hurr ii fyftenes*," but that she, "of hurr" lybertye, refused it, and said, she would not take no more of them at "that tyme." Lodge i. 207. "She gave thanks for the two fifteenths, "and was contented to refuse them." Journal of Commons, p. 43. "We "have forborne to ask any fifteenths." The queen to the earl of Bath, in Mr. Gage's elegant "History and Antiquities of Hengrave," p. 154. Yet Noailles asserts that the fifteenths were refused by parliament, and takes to himself the merit of the refusal, v. 185. 190. 252. I often suspect that this ambassador deceived his master intentionally.

with only two dissentient voices; in the commons, it had to encounter considerable opposition, but was carried by a majority of 193 to 126. By it the tenths and first fruits, the rectories, benefices appropriate, glebelands, and tithes annexed to the crown, since the twentieth of Henry VIII., producing a yearly revenue of about 60,000*l.*, were resigned by the queen, and placed at the disposal of the cardinal, for the augmentation of small livings, the support of preachers, and the furnishing of exhibitions to scholars in the universities; but subject, at the same time, to all the pensions and corrodiess with which they had been previously encumbered*. In consequence of this cession, Pole ordered that the exaction of the first fruits should immediately cease; that livings of twenty marks and under should be relieved from the annual payment of tenths; that livings of a greater value should, for the present, contribute only one twentieth toward the charges with which the clergy were burdened; and that the patronage of the rectories and vicarages, previously vested in the crown, should revert to the bishops of the respective dioceses, who, in return, should contribute proportionably to a present of seven thousand pounds to be made to the king and queen†.

About the same time, that the monastic bodies might not complain of neglect, Mary re-established the grey friars at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the Brigittins at Sion; three houses, the former inhabitants of which had provoked the vengeance of Henry, by their

* Stat. iv. 275. Pole, v. 46. 51. 53. 56. Some writers have said that the queen sought to procure an act, compelling the restoration of church property, in whatever hands it might be. The contrary is evident from the whole tenor of Pole's correspondence.

† Wilk. Con 153. 175. 177. Noailles says that several bills proposed by the court were rejected, v. 252: yet only one of them is mentioned in the journals of either house. "against such as had departed the realm "without leave, or should contemptuously make their abode there." It was unanimously passed by the lords, but was lost on a division in the commons. Journals, 46. I may add, that Burnet, ii. 322, represents Story as opposing, in this parliament, "licences" from Rome. The journals show that the "licences" were monopolies, granted by the queen, her father, and her brother. Journals of Commons, p. 44.

conscientious opposition to his innovations. The dean and prebendaries of Westminster retired on pensions, and yielded their church to a colony of twenty-eight Benedictine monks, all of them beneficed clergymen, who had quitted their livings, to embrace the monastic institute*. In addition, the house of the knights of St. John arose from its ruins, and the dignity of lord prior was conferred on sir Thomas Tresham. But these renewed establishments fell again on the queen's demise; her hospital at the Savoy was alone suffered to remain. She had endowed it with abbey lands; and the ladies of the court, at her recommendation or command, had furnished it with necessaries.

While Gardiner lived, his vigilance had checked the intrigues of the factious: his death emboldened them to renew their machinations against the government. Secret meetings were now held; defamatory libels on the king and queen, printed on the continent, were found scattered in the streets, in the palace, and in both Dec. houses of parliament; and reports were circulated that
 4 Mary, hopeless of issue to succeed her, had determined to settle the crown on her husband, after her decease. If we may believe her counsellors, there was no foundation for these rumours; she had never hinted any such design; nor, if she had, would she have found a man to second it†. But it was for the interest of the French monarch that the falsehood should be believed; and Noailles made every effort to support its credit. Under the auspices of that intriguing minister, and by the agency of Freitville, a French refugee, a new conspiracy was formed, which had for its object to depose Mary, and to raise Elizabeth to the throne. The conduct of the enterprize was intrusted to sir Henry Dudley, a

* Feckenham was again appointed abbot, but only for three years. For the cardinal disapproved of the ancient custom of abbots for life; and had sent to Italy for two monks, who might establish in England the discipline observed in the more rigid communities abroad. Priuli to Beccatello, in Pole's ep. v. app. 347.

† Noailles, v. 174. 242. 365.

relation and partisan of the attainted duke of Northumberland, whose services had been purchased by the French king with the grant of a considerable pension. The connexions of Dudley with the chiefs of the gossellers, and of the discontented in the southern counties, furnished well-grounded hopes of success; assurances had been obtained of the willing co-operation of Elizabeth and her friends; and the French cabinet had engaged to convey to England, at the shortest warning, the earl of Devon, then on his road from Brussels to Italy. To arrange the minor details, and to procure the necessary supplies, Dudley, in disguise, sailed to the coast of Normandy, and was followed by three more of the conspirators; but they arrived at a most inauspicious moment, just when the king had, in opposition to the remonstrances of his minister Montmorency, concluded a truce for five years with Philip. Henry was embarrassed by their presence. Ashamed to appear as an accomplice in a conspiracy against a prince, with whom he was now on terms of amity, he ordered Dudley and his companions to keep themselves concealed, and advised their associates in England, particularly the lady Elizabeth, to suspend, for some time, the projected insurrection. Events, he observed, would follow more favourable to the success of the enterprise; at present it was their best policy to remain quiet, and to elude suspicion by assuming the mask of loyalty*.

But dilatory counsels accorded not with the desperate circumstances of Kingston, Throckmorton, Udal, Staunton, and the other conspirators; who, rejecting the advice of their French ally, determined to carry into immediate execution the first part of the original plot.

* Noailles. 232. 234. 554. 255. 256. 262. 263. 302. That the lady Elizabeth was concerned in it, seems placed beyond dispute, by the following passage in the instructions to Noailles, after the conclusion of the truce: *et surtout éviter que madame Elizabeth ne se remue en sorte du monde pour entreprendre ce que m'escrivez: car ce seroit tout gaster, et perdre le fruit qu'ilz peuvent attendre de leurs desseings, qu'il est besoin traicter et mesner à la longue.* Ibid. 299.

To excite or foment the public discontent, they had reported that Philip devoted to Spanish purposes the revenue of the English crown; though at the same time they knew that, on different occasions, he had brought an immense mass of treasure into the kingdom*, of which, one portion had been distributed in presents, another had served to defray the expenses of the marriage, and the remainder, amounting to fifty thousand pounds, was still lodged in the royal exchequer. A plan was devised to surprise the guard, and to obtain possession of this money: but one of the conspirators proved a traitor to his fellows: of the others, several apprehended by his means, paid the forfeit of their lives, and many sought and obtained an asylum in France. The lord Clinton, who had been commissioned to congratulate Henry on the conclusion of the truce, immediately demanded the fugitives, as "traitors, heretics, and out-laws." Mary had recently gratified the king in a similar request; he could not, in decency, return a refusal, but replied, that he knew nothing of the persons in question; if they had been received in France, it must have been through respect to the queen, whose subjects they had stated themselves to be; all that he could do was to make inquiry, and to order that the moment they were discovered they should be delivered to the resident ambassador. With this illusory answer lord Clinton returned†.

Among the prisoners apprehended in England were

* On one occasion, twenty-seven chests of bullion, each above a yard long, were conveyed to the Tower in twenty carts; on another ninety-nine horses and two carts were employed for a similar purpose. Stowe, 626. Heylin, 209. Persons assures us, that Philip defrayed all the expenses of the combined fleet which escorted him to England, and of the festivities in honour of the marriage. Wardword, 108. And the Venetian ambassador informs the senate, that the report of his spending the money of the nation was false; he had spent immense sums of his own. Barber. MSS. No. 1208.

† Stowe, 628. Noailles, 313. 327. 347. 353. The object of the French king was d'entretenir Duddelay doucement et secrettement, pour s'en servir, s'il en est de besoign, lui donnant moyen d'entretenir aussy par delà les intelligences. Ibid. 310.

Peckham and Werne, two officers in the household of Elizabeth; from whose confessions much was elicited to implicate the princess herself. She was rescued from danger by the interposition of Philip, who, despairing of issue by his wife, foresaw that, if Elizabeth were removed out of the way, the English crown, at the decease of Mary, would be claimed by the young queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin of France. It was for his interest to prevent a succession which would add so considerably to the power of his rival, and for that purpose to preserve the life of the only person, who, with any probability of success, could oppose the claim of the Scottish queen. By his orders the inquiry was dropped; and Mary, sending her sister a ring in token of her affection, professed to believe that Elizabeth was innocent, and that her officers had presumed to make use of her name without her authority. They were executed as traitors; and the princess gladly accepted, in their place, sir Thomas Pope and Robert Cage, at the recommendation of the council*.

Many weeks did not elapse before the exiles in France June made a new attempt to excite an insurrection. There was among them a young man, of the name of Cleobury, whose features bore a strong resemblance to those of the earl of Devon. Having been instructed in the character which he had undertaken to act, he was landed on the coast of Sussex, assumed the name of the earl, spoke of the princess as privy to his design, and took the opportunity to proclaim in the church of Yaxely, "the lady Elizabeth queen, and her beloved bed-fellow, lord Edward Courtenay, king." There was supposed to July exist a kind of magic in the name of Courtenay; but the result dissipated the illusion. The people, as soon as they had recovered from their surprise, pursued and apprehended Cleobury, who suffered, at Bury, the

* MS. Life of the duchess of Feria, 154. Strype, 297, 298. Philopater, Resp. ad edictum, p. 70.

Sept. 20. penalty of his treason *. Two months later the real earl of Devon died of the ague in Padua.

Though Cleobury had employed the name of Elizabeth, we have no reason to charge her with participation in the imposture. The council pretended, at least, to believe her innocent; and she herself, in a letter to Mary, expressed her detestation of all such attempts, wishing, that "there were good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts; then, whatsoever others should subject by malice, the queen would be sure of by knowledge: and the more such misty clouds should offuscate the clear light of her truth, the more her tried thoughts would glister to the dimming of their hidden malice †." Agitated, however, by her fears, whether they arose from the consciousness of guilt or from the prospect of future danger, she resolved to seek an asylum in France, of which she had formerly received an offer from Henry, through the hands of Noailles ‡. With the motives of the king we are not acquainted. He may have wished to create additional embarrassment to Mary, perhaps to have in his power the only rival of his daughter-in-law, the queen of Scotland. But Noailles was gone; and his brother and successor, the bishop of Acs, appears to have received no instructions on the subject. When the countess of Sussex waited on him in disguise, and inquired whether he possessed the means of transporting the princess in safety to France, he expressed the strongest disapprobation of the project, and advised Elizabeth to learn wisdom from the conduct of her sister. Had Mary, after the death of Edward, listened to those who wished her to take refuge with the emperor in Flanders, she would still have re-

* See a letter from the privy council to the earl of Bath, with a passage from the Harl. MS. 537, in Gage's Hengrave, 158.

† Stowe, 628. The letters are in Burnet, ii. Rec. 314. Strype, iii. 335. 338. In the correspondence of Noailles with his sovereign, to encourage these conspirators is elegantly termed, keeping la puce à l'oreille de la royne. Noailles, 309. 329.

‡ Camden, Apparatus. 20.

mained in exile. If Elizabeth hoped to ascend the throne, she must never leave the shores of England. The countess returned with a similar message, and received again the same advice. A few years later the ambassador boasted, that Elizabeth was indebted to him for her crown*.

Had the princess been willing to marry, she might easily have extricated herself from these embarrassments; but from policy or inclination she obstinately rejected every proposal. As presumptive heir to the crown, she was sought by different princes; and, as her sincerity in the profession of the ancient faith was generally questioned, men were eager to see her united, the catholics to a catholic, the protestants to a protestant husband. Her suitors professing the reformed doctrines were the king of Denmark for his son, and the king of Sweden for himself. The envoy of the latter reached her house in disguise; but he was refused admission, and referred to the queen, to whom Elizabeth averred that she had never heard the name of his master before, and hoped never to hear it again; adding, that as, in the reign of Edward, she had refused several offers, so she persisted in the same resolution of continuing, with her sister's good pleasure, a single woman. The catholic suitor was Philibert duke of Savoy, whose claim was strenuously supported by Philip, through gratitude, as he pretended, to a prince who had lost his hereditary dominions in consequence of his adherence to the interests of Spain; but through a more selfish motive, if we may believe politicians, a desire to preserve after the death of Mary the existing alliance between the English and Spanish crowns. He despaired of issue by the queen; what then could he do better than give to Elizabeth, the heir apparent, his personal friend for a husband? He met, however, with an obstinate, and probably unexpected, opponent in his wife; and, aware of her piety,

* See his letter of Dec. 2, 1570, to Du Haillant, in Noailles, i, 334.

sought to remove her objection by the authority of his confessor, and of other divines, who are said to have represented the proposed marriage as the only probable means of securing the permanence of the Catholic worship after her death. Overcome rather than convinced, Mary signified her assent; but revoked it the next day, alleging that it was essential to marriage that it should be free, and that her conscience forbade her to compel her sister to wed the man of whom she disapproved*. From that period, the princess resided, apparently at liberty, but in reality under the eyes of watchful guardians, in her house at Hatfield, and occasionally at court. Her friends complained that her allowance did not enable her to keep up the dignity of second person in the realm. But it would have been folly in the queen to have supplied Elizabeth with the means of multiplying her adherents; and she was, at the same time, anxious to reduce the enormous debt of the crown. With this view she had adopted a severe system of retrenchment in her own household: it could not be expected that she should encourage expense in the household of her sister.

But whatever were the mental sufferings of Elizabeth, they bore no proportion to those of Mary. 1°. The queen was perfectly aware that her popularity, which at first had seated her on the throne, had long been on the decline. She had incurred the hatred of the merchants and country gentlemen by the loans of money, which her poverty had compelled her to require; her economy, laudable as it was in her circumstances, had earned for her the reproach of parsimony from some, and of ingratitude from others; the enemies of her marriage continued to predict danger to the liberties of

* MS. reports of Michell and Soriano. Camden, 20. Burnet, ii. Rec. 325. Strype, iii. 317, 318. Rec. 189. The Spaniards attributed her refusal to her dislike of Elizabeth, and the advice of Cardinal Pole, whom they hated because he constantly opposed their attempts to make Philip "absolute lord: per far il re signor assoluto." Hence Grandvelt said to Soriano that the cardinal was "no statesman, nor fit either to advise or govern." Soriano, *ibid*.

England from the influence of her Spanish husband; the protestants, irritated by persecution, ardently wished for another sovereign; the most malicious reports, the most treasonable libels, even hints of assassination, were circulated; and men were found to misrepresent to the public all her actions, as proceeding from interested or anti-national motives. 2°. She began to fear for the permanency of that religious worship, which it had been the first wish of her heart to re-establish. She saw, that the fires of Smithfield had not subdued the obstinacy of the dissenters from the established creed; she knew that in the higher classes few had any other religion than their own interest or convenience; and she had reason to suspect that the presumptive heir to the crown, though she had long professed herself a catholic, still cherished in her breast those principles which she had imbibed in early youth. 3°. On Elizabeth herself she could not look without solicitude. It was natural that the wrongs which Catherine of Arragon had suffered from the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn should beget a feeling of hostility between their respective daughters. But the participation of Elizabeth in the first insurrection had widened the breach; and the frequent use made of her name by every subsequent conspirator served to confirm the suspicions of one sister, and to multiply the apprehensions of the other. In the eye of Mary, Elizabeth was a bastard and a rival; in that of Elizabeth, Mary was a jealous and vindictive sovereign. To free her mind of this burden, the queen had lately thought of declaring her by act of parliament illegitimate and incapable of the succession; but the king would consent to no measure which, by weakening the claim of Elizabeth, might strengthen that of the dauphiness to the crown*. Mary acquiesced in the will

* Nel tempo della gravidanza della regina, ch  fu fatta verire in corte, seppie cosi ben providere et mettersi in gratia della natione Spagnuola, et particolarmente del Re, ch  da niuno po  e stata piu favorita ch  da lui;

of her husband ; and from that time, whenever Elizabeth came to court, treated her in private with kindness, and in public with distinction. Yet it was thought that there was in this more of show than of reality ; and that doubt and fear, jealousy and resentment, still lurked within her bosom. Lastly, the absence of her husband was a source of daily disquietude. If she loved him, Philip had deserved it by his kindness and attention. To be deprived of his society was of itself a heavy affliction ; but it was most severely felt, when she stood in need of advice and support*. Gardiner, whose very name had awed the factious, was no more. His place had, indeed, been supplied by Heath, archbishop of York, a learned and upright prelate ; but, though he might equal his predecessor in abilities and zeal, he was less known, and therefore less formidable, to the adversaries of the government. It is not surprising, that, in such circumstances, the queen should wish for the presence and protection of her husband. She importuned him by long and repeated letters ; she sent the lord Paget to urge him to return without delay. But Philip, to whom his father had now resigned all his dominions in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, was overwhelmed with business of more importance to him than the tranquillity of his wife, or of her government ; and, to pacify her mind, he made her frequent promises, the fulfilment of which it was always in his power to elude. He had lately seen with alarm the elevation to the pontifical dignity of the cardinal Caraffa, by birth a Neapolitan, who had always distinguished himself by his opposition to the Spanish ascendancy in his native country, and on

il quale non solo non velle permettere, ma si oppose et impedi, ch'è non fosse, come voleva la regina, per atto di parlamento directata et declarata bastarda et consequentemente inhabile alla successione. Lansdowne MSS., No. 840 B.

* All these particulars respecting Elizabeth, and the troubles of Mary, are taken from the interesting memoir of Michele, the Venetian ambassador. Lansdowne MSS. 840, B. fol. 153. 157. 160. Noailles represents her as afflicted with jealousy ; but this writer declares the contrary

that account had suffered occasional affronts from the resentment of Ferdinand and Charles. The symptoms of dissension soon appeared. Philip suspected a design against his kingdom of Naples; and the new pontiff supported with menaces what he deemed the rights of the holy see. The negotiations between the two powers, their mutual complaints and recriminations, are subjects foreign from this history; but the result was a strong suspicion in the mind of Paul, that the Spaniards sought to remove him from the popedom, and a resolution on his part to place himself under the protection of France. It chanced that about midsummer, in the year 1556, despatches were intercepted at Terracina, from Garcilasso della Vega, the Spanish agent in Rome, to the duke of Alva, the viceroy of Naples, describing the defenceless state of the papal territory, and the ease with which it might be conquered, before an army could be raised for its defence. The suspicion of the pontiff was now confirmed; he ordered the chiefs of the Spanish faction in Rome to be arrested as traitors; and instructed his officers to proceed against Philip for a breach of the feudal tenure, by which he held the kingdom of Naples. But the viceroy advanced with a powerful army as far as Tivoli; Paul, to save his capital, submitted to solicit an armistice; and the war would have been terminated without bloodshed, had not the duke of Guise, at the head of a French army, hastened into Italy. Henry had secretly concluded a league with the pope soon after his accession to the pontificate; he violated that treaty by consenting to the truce with Philip for five years: and now he broke the truce, in the hope of humbling the pride of the Spanish monarch, by placing a French prince on the throne of Naples, and investing another with the ducal coronet of Milan*.

It seems that, in the estimation of this prince, every

* See these particulars, drawn from the original documents by Pallavicino, ii. 436—476. The complaints of the duke of Alva, and the recrimination of the college of cardinals, are in the *Lettre de Principi*, i. 190.

breach of treaty, every departure from honesty, might be justified, on the plea of expediency *. He had no real cause of resentment against Mary; and yet, from the commencement of her reign, he had acted the part of a bitter enemy. His object had been, first to prevent the marriage of the queen with Philip, and then to disable her from lending aid to her husband. With these views he had, under the mask of friendship, fomented the discontent of her subjects, had encouraged them to rise in arms against her, and had offered an asylum and furnished pensions to her rebels. Having determined to renew the war with Philip, he called on Dudley and his associates to resume their treasonable practices against Mary. In Calais, and the territory belonging to Calais, were certain families of reformers, whose resentment had been kindled by the persecution of their brethren. With these the chiefs of the fugitives opened a clandestine correspondence; and a plan was arranged for the delivery of Hammes and Guienes, two important fortresses, into the hands of the French †. But the enterprise, to the mortification of Henry, was defeated by the communications of a spy in the pay of the English government, who wormed himself into the confidence, and betrayed the secrets, of the conspirators. Within a few days a different attempt was made by another of the exiles, Thomas Stafford, second son to lord Stafford, and grandson to the last duke of Buckingham. With a small force of Englishmen, Scots, and Frenchmen, he sailed from Dieppe, surprised the old castle of Scarborough, and immediately published a proclamation, as protector and governor of the realm. He was come, “not to work
 Mar. April 21. “to his own advancement, touching the possession of

* It is amusing to observe that, while Noailles perpetually accuses Englishmen of habits of falsehood, he is continually practising it himself, sometimes of choice, sometimes by order of his sovereign. Thus, with respect to the league with the pope, he was instructed to keep it secret, couvrant, niant, cachant, et desuiant ladite intelligence avecques sadite saintete. Noailles, v. 139.

† The information, given by the spy, is in *Strype*, xi, 353.

"the crown," but to deliver his countrymen from the tyranny of strangers, and "to defeat the most devilish "devices of Mary, unrightful and unworthy queen," who had forfeited her claim to the sceptre by her marriage to a Spaniard, who lavished all the treasures of the realm upon Spaniards, and who had resolved to deliver the twelve strongest fortresses in the kingdom to twelve thousand Spaniards. He had determined to die bravely in the field, rather than see the slavery of his country ; and he called on all Englishmen, animated with similar sentiments, to join the standard of independence, and to fight for the preservation of their lives, lands, wives, children, and treasures, from the possession of Spaniards. But his hopes were quickly extinguished. Not a man obeyed the proclamation. Wotton, the English ambassador, had apprized the queen of his design ; and on the fourth day, before any aid could arrive from France, the earl of Westmoreland appeared with a considerable force, when Stafford, unable to defend the ruins of the castle, surrendered at discretion *. The failure of these repeated attempts ought to have undeceived the French monarch. Noailles and the exiles had persuaded him that discontent pervaded the whole population of the kingdom ; that every man longed to free himself from the rule of Mary ; and that, at the first call, multitudes would unsheath their swords against her. But whenever the trial was made, the result proved the contrary. Men displayed their loyalty, by opposing the traitors ; and Henry, by attempting to embarrass the queen, provoked her to lend to her husband that aid which it was his great object to avert.

Hitherto Philip had discovered no inclination for war. Content with the extensive dominions which had fallen

* Stafford's proclamation, and the queen's answer, are in Strype, iii. rec. 259—262. Godwin, 129. Heylin, 242. The pretence that this plot was got up by Wotton, the English ambassador in France, in order to provoke the queen to war, is improbable in itself, and must appear incredible to those who have read, in the letters of Noailles, his notices of the important, though hazardous enterprises, designed by the exiles. Noailles, v. 256. 262.

to his lot, he sought rather to enjoy the pleasures becoming his youth and station ; and, during his residence in England, had devoted much of his time to the chase, to parties of amusement, and to exercises of arms *. The bad faith of Henry awakened his resentment, and compelled him to draw the sword. But, though the armistice had been broken in Italy, he was careful to make no demonstration of hostilities in Flanders, hoping by this apparent inactivity to deceive the enemy, till he had collected a numerous force in Spain, and engaged an army of mercenaries in Germany. In March he revisited

- Mar. Mary, not so much in deference to her representations,
 17. as to draw England into the war with France. It is no wonder that the queen, after the provocations which she had received, should be willing to gratify her husband ; but she left the decision to her council, in which the question was repeatedly debated. At first it was determined in the negative, on account of the poverty of the crown, the high price of provisions, the rancour of religious parties, and the condition in the marriage treaty, by which Philip promised not to involve the nation in the existing war against France. When it was replied, that the present was a new war, and that, to preserve the dignity of the crown, it was requisite to obtain satisfaction for the injuries offered to the queen by Henry, the majority of the council proposed that, instead of embarking as a principal in the war, she should confine herself to that aid, to which she was bound by ancient treaties, as the ally of the house of Burgundy. At last the enterprise of Stafford effected what neither the influence of the king, nor the known inclination of the queen,
 June had been able to accomplish. A proclamation was issued,
 7. containing charges against the French monarch, which it was not easy to refute. From the very accession of Mary he had put on the appearance of a friend, and acted as an adversary. He had approved of the rebel-

* Noailles, v. 221.

lion of Northumberland, and supported that of Wyat to him, through his ambassador, had been traced the conspiracies of Dudley and Ashton; and from him these traitors had obtained an asylum and pensions; by his suggestions, attempts had been made to surprise Calais and its dependencies; and with his money Stafford had procured the ships and troops with which he had obtained possession of the castle of Scarborough. The king and queen owed it to themselves and to the nation, to resent such a succession of injuries; and therefore they warned the English merchants to abstain from all traffic in the dominions of a monarch, against whom it was intended to declare war, and from whom they might expect the confiscation of their property*. Norroy king at arms was already on his road to Paris. According to the ancient custom he defied Henry; who coolly replied, that it did not become him to enter into altercation with a woman; that he intrusted his quarrel with confidence to the decision of the Almighty; and that the result would reveal to the world, who had the better cause. But, when he heard of the proclamation, he determined to oppose to it a manifesto, in which he complained that Mary had maintained spies in his dominions; had laid new and heavy duties on the importation of French merchandise, and had unnecessarily adopted the personal enmities of her husband. The bishop of Aeqs was immediately recalled; at Calais he June improved the opportunity to examine the fortifications, 12. and remarked that from the gate of the harbour to the old castle, and from the castle for a considerable distance to the right, the rampart lay in ruins. At his request Senarpont, governor of Boulogne, repaired in disguise to the same place; and both concurred in the opinion, that its boasted strength consisted only in its reputation; and that, in its present state, it offered an easy conquest to a sudden and unexpected assailant. The ambassador

* Transcripts for Rymer, 359. Godwin, 129. Holins. 1133.

when he reached the court, acquainted his sovereign with the result of these observations; but at the same time laid before him a faithful portrait of the exiles and their adherents. The zeal of his brother had induced him to magnify the importance of these people. Their number was small, their influence inconsiderable, and their fidelity doubtful. Experience had shown him that they were more desirous to obtain the favour of their sovereign by betraying each other, than by molesting her to fulfil their engagements*.

- July 6. Philip was now returned to Flanders, where the mercenaries from Germany, and the troops from Spain, had already arrived. The earl of Pembroke followed at the head of seven thousand Englishmen†: and the command of the combined army, consisting of 40,000 men, was assumed by Philibert duke of Savoy. Having successively threatened Marienberg, Rocroi, and Guise, he suddenly halted before the town of St. Quintin on the right bank of the Somme. Henry was alarmed for the safety of this important place; but it occurred to him that a supply might be sent to the garrison over the extensive and apparently impassable morass, which, together with the river, covered one side of the town. On the night of the ninth of August, the constable Montmorency marched from la Fere, with all his cavalry and 15,000 infantry; and, about nine on the following morning, took a position close to the marsh, in which it was calculated that he might remain for
- Aug. 10. several hours, without the possibility of molestation on the part of the enemy. The boats, which had been brought upon carts, were now launched; and men, provisions, and ammunition, were embarked. But the operation consumed more time than had been calculated: and the Spaniards, making a long detour, and crossing

* Noailles, 33. 35.

† To equip this army, the queen had raised a loan by privy seals, dated July 20. 31. 1556, requiring certain gentlemen in different counties to lend her 100*l.* each, to be repaid in the month of November of the following year. Strype, iii. 424.

the river higher up, advanced rapidly by a broad and solid road. Their cavalry, a body of 6000 horse, easily dispersed a weak force of reistres, the first that opposed them, then broke the French cavalry, and instantly charged the infantry at a moment, when they were falling back on the reserve. The confusion was irremediable. The constable himself, the marshal St. André, and most of the superior officers, fell into the hands of the conquerors: and one half of the French army were either taken or slain. The Spanish cavalry claimed the whole glory of the day. Their infantry did not arrive before the battle was won; and the English auxiliaries guarded the trenches on the other bank of the river*.

It was but a poor consolation to Henry for the loss of his army, that many of the boats on the marsh had contrived to reach the town, and that the garrison with this supply was enabled to protract the siege for another fortnight. On the arrival of Philip, who was accompanied by the earl of Pembroke, the mines were sprung, the assault was given, the defences after an obstinate resistance were won, and the English auxiliaries, as they shared in the glory, shared also in the spoil of the day. It was the only opportunity which they had of distinguishing themselves during the campaign: but by sea the English fleet rode triumphant through the summer, and kept the maritime provinces of France in a state of perpetual alarm. Bordeaux and Bayonne were alternately menaced; descents were made on several points of the coast; and the plunder of the defenceless inhabitants rewarded the services of the adventurers†.

* Cabrera, 157. Merges, *Mém.* xli. 24. Tavannes, xxvi. 164.

† Noailles, i. 17—19. The success of the combined army at St. Quintin irritated the venom of Goodman, one of the most celebrated of the exiles Geneva, who, in his treatise entitled "How to obey or disobey," thus addresses those among the reformers, who, "to please the wicked Jezebel," had fought on that day: "Is this the love that ye bear to the word of God, O ye Gospellers? Have ye been so taught in the gospel, 'to be wilful murderers of yourselves and others abroad, rather than lawful defenders of God's people and your country at home?'" *Apud Strype*, iii. 441.

- When Mary determined to aid her husband against Henry, she had made up her mind to a war with Scotland. In that kingdom the national animosity against the English, the ancient alliance with France, the marriage of the queen to the dauphin, and the authority of the regent, a French princess, had given to the French interest a decided preponderance. From the very commencement of the year, the Scots, for the sole purpose of intimidation, had assumed a menacing attitude; the moment Mary denounced war against Henry, they agreed to assist him by invading the northern counties. The borderers on both sides recommenced their usual inroads, and many captures of small importance were reciprocally made at sea. But to collect a sufficient force for the invasion required considerable time; before the equinox the weather became stormy; the fords and roads were rendered impassable by the rains; and a contagious disease introduced itself into the Lowlands. It required considerable exertion on the
11. part of the queen regent and of d'Oyselles, the ambassador, to assemble the army against the beginning of October; and they found it a still more difficult task to guide the turbulent and capricious humour of the Scottish nobles. When the auxiliaries from France
 17. crossed the Tweed to batter the castle of Wark, the Scots, instead of fighting, assembled in council at Eford church, where they reminded each other of the fatal field of Flodden, and exaggerated the loss of their ally at the battle of St. Quintin. The earl of Shrewsbury lay before them with the whole power of England: why should the Scots shed their blood for an interest entirely French; why hazard the best hopes of the country without any adequate cause? The earl of Huntley alone ventured to oppose the general sentiment. He was put under a temporary arrest; and, in defiance of the threats, the tears, and the entreaties of the
 18. regent, the army was disbanded. "Thus," says lord Shrewsbury, "this enterprise, begun with so great

“bravery, ended in dishonour and shame*.” It produced, however, this benefit to France, that it distracted the attention of the English council, and added considerably to the expenses of the war.

At the same time, Mary, to her surprise and vexation, found herself involved in a contest with the pontiff. Though Pole, in former times, had suffered much for his attachment to the catholic creed, the cardinal Caraffa had, on one occasion, ventured to express a doubt with respect to his orthodoxy. That this suspicion was unfounded, Caraffa subsequently acknowledged†; and after his elevation to the popedom, he had repeatedly pronounced a high eulogium on the English cardinal. Now, however, whether it was owing to the moderation of Pole, which, to the Pope's more ardent zeal, appeared like a dereliction of duty, or to the suggestions of those who sought to widen the breach between Philip and the holy see, Paul reverted to the suspicions which he had before abjured. Though he wished to mask his real intention, he resolved to involve the legate in the same disgrace with his friend the cardinal Morone, and to subject the orthodoxy of both to the investigation of the inquisition. It chanced that Philip, in consequence of the war, had made regulations which seemed to trench on the papal authority; and Paul, to mark his sense of these encroachments, revoked his ministers from all the dominions of that monarch. There was no reason to suppose that Pole was included in this revocation: but the pontiff ordered a letter to be prepared, announcing to him that his legatine authority was at an end, and ordering him to hasten immediately to Rome. Carne, the queen's agent, informed her by express of the pope's intention, and in the mean time, by his remonstrances, extorted an illusory promise of delay. Philip and Mary expostulated; the English prelates and nobility, in

* See the long correspondence on the subject of this intended invasion in Lodge, i. 240—293.

† Pol. ep. iv. 91. v. 122.

- May separate letters, complained of the injury which religion
 21. would receive from the measure; and Pole himself re-
 25. presented that the control of a legate was necessary,
 though it mattered little whether that office was exer-
 cised by himself or another*. This expression sug-
 gested a new expedient. Peyto, a Franciscan friar,
 eighty years of age, was the queen's confessor: him the
 June pope, in a secret consistory, created a cardinal; and
 14. immediately transferred to him all the powers which
 20. had hitherto been exercised by Pole†. In this emer-
 gency, Mary's respect for the papal authority did not
 prevent her from having recourse to the precautions
 which had often been employed by her predecessors.
 Orders were issued, that every messenger from foreign
 parts should be detained and searched. The bearer of
 the papal letters was arrested at Calais; his despatches
 were clandestinely forwarded to the queen; and the let-
 ters of revocation were either secreted or destroyed. Thus
 it happened that Peyto never received any official notice
 of his preferment, nor Pole of his recall. The latter,
 however, ceased to exercise the legatine authority, and
 despatched Ormanetto, his chancellor, to Rome. That
 July messenger arrived at a most favourable moment. The
 20. papal army had been defeated at Palliano; the news of
 Sept the victory at St. Quintin had arrived; and peace was
 14. signed between Paul and Philip. In these circum-
 stances, the pontiff treated Ormanetto with kindness,
 and referred the determination of the question to his
 24. nephew, the cardinal Caraffa, whom he had appointed

* These letters may be seen in Pole's ep. v. 27. Strype, iii. rec. 231. Burnet, ii. 315. In them great complaint is made, that the pope should deprive the cardinal of the authority of legate, which for centuries had been annexed to the office of archbishop of Canterbury. It would appear that this was a mistake. For soon afterwards Pole, though he no longer styled himself legatus a latere, assumed the title of legatus natus, and kept it till his death. Wilk. iv. 149. 153. 171. Pol. ep. v. 181.

† Pol. ep. v. 144, ex actis consistorialibus. Paul says that he had known Peyto when he was in the family of Pole; that from the first he had determined to make him a cardinal; and that he considered him worthy of the honour, both from his own knowledge and the testimony of others. Ibid.

legate to the king*. When that minister reached Brussels, he demanded that both Pole and Peyto should be suffered to proceed to Rome; Pole, that he might clear himself from the charge of heresy, Peyto, that he might aid the pontiff with his advice. Philip referred him to Mary; and Mary returned a refusal†. At Rome proceedings against the English cardinal were already commenced: but Pole, in strong, though respectful language, remonstrated against the injustice which was done to his character‡; Peyto soon afterwards died; and the question remained in suspense, till it was set at rest in the course of a few months by the deaths of all the parties concerned.

The disgrace which had befallen the French arms at St. Quintin had induced Henry to recall the duke of Guise from Italy, and to consult him on the means by which he might restore his reputation, and take revenge for his loss. The reader has seen that he had formerly attempted, through the agency of the exiles, to debauch the fidelity of some among the inhabitants, or the troops in garrison, at Calais. There is reason to believe that he had at present his secret partisans within the town: but, however that may be, the representations of the bishop of Acqs and of the governor of Boulogne had taught him to form a more correct notion of its imaginary strength; and the duke of Guise adopted a plan originally suggested by the admiral Coligni, to assault the fortress in the middle of winter, when, from the depth of the water in the marshes, and the severity of weather, it appeared less exposed to danger. In the month of December, twenty-five thousand men, with a numerous train of battering artillery, assembled at Compiègne. Every eye was turned towards St. Quintin. But suddenly the army broke up, took the direction of Calais, and on new-year's day was discovered in considerable force on the road from Sandgate to Hammes.

* Beccatello, 380.

† Pallavicino, ii. 500. 502.

‡ Pol. esp. v. 31—36.

- The governor, lord Wentworth, had received repeated warnings to provide for the defence of the place but he persuaded himself that the object of the enemy was
- Jan. not conquest, but plunder. The next day the bulwarks
 2. of Froyton and Nesle were abandoned by their garrisons; and within twenty-four hours the surrender of Newhaven bridge and of the Rishank brought the
 3. assailants within reach of the town. A battery on St.
 4. Peter's heath played on the wall; another opened a wide breach in the castle; and the commander, in expectation of an assault, earnestly solicited reinforcements.
 6. Lord Wentworth was admonished that the loss of the town must infallibly follow that of the castle; but he rejected the application, ordered the garrison to be withdrawn, and appointed an engineer to blow up the towers
 7. on the approach of the enemy. That same evening, during the ebb-tide, a company of Frenchmen waded across the haven: no explosion took place; and the
 8. French standard was unfurled on the walls*. The next morning an offer of capitulation was made; and the town, with all the ammunition and merchandise, was surrendered, on condition that the citizens and garrison should have liberty to depart, with the exception of Wentworth himself and of fifty others. Ample supplies of men and stores had been provided by the council: but they were detained at Dover by the tempestuous state of the weather; and no man apprehended that a place of such reputed strength could be lost in the space of a single week. From Calais, the duke led his army to the siege of Guisnes. A breach
 20. was made: the assailants were gallantly repulsed: but this success was purchased with the lives of so many men, that lord Grey, the governor, evacuated the town,
 22. and two days later surrendered the castle†. Thus in

* In excuse of Saul, the engineer, who was charged to blow up the towers, it has been pretended that the water, dropping from the clothes of the Frenchmen, as they passed over the train, wet the powder, and prevented it from exploding. See Holinshed, 1135.

† Lord Grey was given as a prisoner to Strozzi, who sold him to the

the depth of winter, and within the short lapse of three weeks, was Calais, with all its dependencies, recovered by France, after it had remained in the possession of the English more than two hundred years. On whom the blame should be laid, is uncertain. Some have condemned the ministers, who, under a mistaken notion of economy, had allowed it to be unprovided for a siege: others, and not without apparent cause, have attributed the loss to disaffection and treason*.

To men who weighed the trivial advantages which had been derived from the possession of the place against the annual expenses of its garrison and fortifications, the loss appeared in the light of a national benefit: but in the eyes of foreigners it tarnished the reputation of the country, and at home it furnished a subject of reproach to the factious, of regret to the loyal. The queen felt it most poignantly; and we may form a notion of her grief from the declarations which she made on her death-bed, that, if her ambassadors at Cercamp should conclude a peace without procuring the restoration of Calais, they should pay for the concession with their heads, and that, if her breast were opened after death, the word "Calais" would be found engraven on her heart†. With these feelings, she met her parliament, Jan., and by the mouth of her chancellor solicited a liberal supply. The spirit of the nation had been roused; and all men appeared eager to revenge the loss. The clergy granted an aid of eight shillings in the pound, the laity one of four shillings in the pound on lands, and of two shillings and eightpence on goods, besides a fifteenth

count of Rochefoucault for 8000 crowns (Brantome, art. Strozzi). Rochefoucault demanded and received of Grey 25,000, which served to pay the greater part of his own ransom of 30,000 to his captor at the battle of St. Quintin. Mergez, 48.

* There is a long account of the siege of Calais in Thuanus, tom. i. part ii. p. 679, and of that of Guisnes, in Holinshed, 1137—40: but I have adhered to the official correspondence in the Hardwick papers, i. 103—120. See also Cabrera, Filipe segundo, 181, 183.

† Godwin, 134. Gonzales, from the original documents preserved at Simancas, in the *Memorias de la real academia de la historia*, vii. 237. Madrid, 1832.

and tenth to be paid before the month of November. Several bills, against the natives of France, but savouring more of resentment than of policy, were thrown out by the moderation of the ministers; and the session closed with two acts for the better defence of the realm, of which one regulated the musters of the militia, the other fixed the proportion of arms, armour, and horses, to be provided by private individuals*.

Some weeks before the attempt of the duke of Guise, Philip had warned the council of his design, and had offered for the defence of Calais a garrison of Spanish troops. The admonition was received with distrust; and some of the lords hinted a suspicion that, under the colour of preserving the place from the French, he might harbour an intention of keeping it for himself. He now made a second proposal, to join any number of Spaniards to an equal number of English, and to undertake the recovery of the town, before the enemy had re-
 Feb. 1 paired the works. Even this offer was declined, on the ground that a sufficient force could not be raised within the appointed time; that the greater part of the ordnance had been lost at Calais and Guisnes; that raw soldiers would not be able to bear the rigours of the season; and that it was necessary to keep up a respectable army at home, to intimidate the factious, and to repress the attempts of the outlaws†. For these reasons the ministers preferred to fortify the coast of Devon, where Dudley menaced a descent, and to prepare an armament sufficiently powerful to surprise some port on the French coast, as an equivalent for that which had been lost. During the spring, seven thousand men were levied, and trained to military evolutions; the lord admiral collected in the harbour of Portsmouth a fleet of one hundred and forty sail; and Philip willingly

* Journals of lords and commons. As the money did not come into the exchequer immediately, the queen borrowed 20,000*l.* of the citizens, at an interest of 12 per cent. Stowe, 632.

† Their letter is in Stowe, iii. 433.

supplied a strong reinforcement of Flemish troops. In France the capture of Calais had excited an intoxication of joy. The event had been celebrated by the nuptials of the dauphin to the young queen of Scotland; but it was clouded by the calamitous defeat of the marshal de Termes. He was actually engaged with the Spanish July force under the count of Egmont, on the banks of the 13. Aa, when the report of the cannon attracted the English admiral Malin, with twelve small vessels, to the mouth of the river. Malin entered with the tide; brought his ships to bear on the enemy's line, and, with the discharge of a few broadsides, threw their right wing into disorder. The victory was completed by the charge of the Spaniards. The French lost five thousand men; and De Termes, Senarpont, governor of Boulogne, and many gallant officers, were made prisoners. To Malin the count proved his gratitude by a present of two hundred captives, that he might receive the profit of their ransom*.

In the action on the banks of the Aa, the greatest part of the garrison of Calais had perished; and there can be little doubt that by an immediate and vigorous attack the town itself might have been recovered. But the grand expedition had previously sailed from Portsmouth, and had already reached the coast of Bretagne. Its object was to surprise the port of Brest; and we are ignorant why the lord admiral, instead of proceeding immediately to his destination, amused himself with making a descent in the vicinity of Conquest. He burnt the town, and plundered the adjacent villages: but, in the mean time, the alarm was given; troops poured from all quarters into Brest; and his fears or his prudence induced him to return to England, without having done anything to raise the reputation of the country, or to repay the expenses of the expedition†.

After this failure the last hope of the ministers was

* Godwin, 132. Stowe, 633.

† Ibid.

placed in the honour and fidelity of Philip. That prince had joined his army of 45,000 men in the vicinity of Dourlens; and Henry lay with a force scarcely inferior Aug. in the neighbourhood of Amiens. Instead, however, of a battle, conferences were opened in the abbey of Cernamp, and both parties professed to be animated with a sincere desire of peace. It was evident that, if the king should yield to the demands of France, Calais was irretrievably lost. But Philip was conscious that he had led the queen into the war, and deemed himself bound in honour to watch no less over her interests than over his own. He resisted the most tempting offers: he declared that the restoration of Calais must be an indispensable condition; and, at last, in despair of subduing the obstinacy of Henry, put an end to the negotiation*.

But the reign of Mary was now hastening to its termination. Her health had always been delicate; from the time of her first supposed pregnancy she was afflicted with frequent and obstinate maladies. Tears no longer afforded her relief from the depression of her spirits; and the repeated loss of blood, by the advice of her physicians, had rendered her pale, languid, and emaciated†. Nor was her mind more at ease than her body. The exiles from Geneva, by the number and virulence of their libels, kept her in a constant state of fear and irritation‡; and to other causes of anxiety, which have been formerly mentioned, had lately been added the insalubrity of the season, the loss of Calais, and her contest with the pontiff. In August she experienced a slight febrile indisposition at Hampton court, and immediately removed to St. James's. It was soon ascertained that her disease was the same fever which had

* See the official correspondence in Burnet, iii. 258—263.

† Memoir of the Venetian ambassador, fol. 157.

‡ These libels provoked the government to issue, on the 6th of June, a proclamation, stating that books filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, were daily brought from beyond the seas, and some covertly printed within the realm, and ordering that "whosoever should be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books should be reputed a rebel, and executed according to martial law." Strype, iii. 459.

proved fatal to thousands of her subjects ; and, though she languished for three months, with several alternations of improvement and relapse, she never recovered sufficiently to leave her chamber.

During this long confinement, Mary edified all around her by her cheerfulness, her piety, and her resignation to the will of Providence. Her chief solicitude was for the stability of that church which she had restored ; and her suspicions of Elizabeth's insincerity prompted her to require from her sister an avowal of her real sentiments. In return, Elizabeth complained of Mary's incredulity. She was a true and conscientious believer in the catholic creed ; nor could she do more now than she had repeatedly done before, which was to confirm her assertion with her oath*.

On the fifth of November, the day fixed at the prorogation, the parliament assembled at Westminster. The 5. ministers in the name of the queen demanded a supply ; but little progress was made, under the persuasion that she had but a short time to live. Four days later the 9. Conde de Feria arrived, the bearer of a letter to Mary from her husband. It was an office which decency, if not affection, required : but Philip had the ingenuity to turn it to his own account, by instructing the ambassador to secure for him the good will of the heir to the crown. Though the queen had already declared Elizabeth her successor, Feria advocated her claim in a set speech before the council ; and then, in an interview 10. with the princess at the house of Lord Clinton, assured her that the declaration of the queen in her favour had originated with his master. A few days later, Mary ordered Jane Dormer, one of her maids of honour, and afterwards duchess of Feria, to deliver to Elizabeth the jewels in her custody, and to make to the princess three requests ; that she would be good to her servants, would

* MS. life of the duchess of Feria, 156. "She prayed God that the "earth might open and swallow her up alive, if she were not a true Roman Catholic." Ibid. 129. See also Paterson's Image of the two Churches, 435.

- Nov. repay the sums of money which had been lent on privy
 17. seals, and would support the established church. On the morning of her death, mass was celebrated in her chamber. She was perfectly sensible, and expired a few minutes before the conclusion*. Her friend and kinsman, cardinal Pole, who had long been confined
 18. with a fever, survived her only twenty-two hours. He had reached his fifty-ninth, she her forty-second year†.

The foulest blot on the character of this queen is her long and cruel persecution of the reformers. The sufferings of the victims naturally begat an antipathy to the woman, by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect what I have already noticed, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party. Mary only practised what *they* taught. It was her misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries.

With this exception, she has been ranked, by the more moderate of the reformed writers, among the best, though not the greatest, of our princes. They have borne honourable testimony to her virtues; have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion for the poor, and liberality to the distressed; and have recorded her solicitude to restore to opulence the families that had been unjustly deprived of their possessions by her father and brother, and to provide for the wants of

* MS. life of the duchess of Feria, 128. Even the merit of sending the jewels was claimed for Philip; who moreover added a present of his own, a valuable casket which he had left at Whitehall, and which he knew that Elizabeth greatly admired. *Memorias*, vii. 260.

† Elizabeth, in her conference with Feria on the tenth, spoke with great asperity (*malissamente*) of the cardinal. He had paid her no attention, and had been to her the occasion of great annoyance. (*Ibid.* 255. 7.) Pole appears to have been aware of her displeasure; for he sent from his death-bed the dean of Worcester with a letter to her, requesting her to give credit to what the dean had "to say in his behalf;" and doubting not that she would "remain satisfied thereby." (*Hearne's Sylloge*, 157. *Collier, Records*, 88.) The moment his death was known, she sent the earl of Rutland and Throckmorton to seize his effects for the crown. *Memorias*, 257. 9.

the parochial clergy, who had been reduced to penury by the spoliations of the last government*. It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproach. It extorted respect from all, even from the most virulent of her enemies. The ladies of her household copied the conduct of their mistress; and the decency of Mary's court was often mentioned with applause by those who lamented the dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her successor †.

The queen was thought by some to have inherited the obstinacy of her father; but there was this difference, that, before she formed her decisions, she sought for advice and information, and made it an invariable rule to prefer right to expediency. One of the outlaws, who had obtained his pardon, hoped to ingratiate himself with Mary by devising a plan to render her independent of parliament. He submitted it to the inspection of the Spanish ambassador, by whom it was recommended to her consideration. Sending for Gardiner, she bade him peruse it, and then adjured him, as he should answer at the judgment-seat of God, to speak his real sentiments. "Madam," replied the prelate, "it is a pity that so virtuous a lady should be surrounded by such sycophants. The book is naught: it is filled with things too horrible to be thought of." She thanked him, and threw the paper into the fire ‡.

Her natural abilities had been improved by education. She understood the Italian, she spoke the French and Spanish languages; and the ease and correctness with which she replied to the foreigners, who addressed her in

* *Princeps apud omnes ob mores sanctissimos, pietatem in pauperes, liberalitatem in nobiles atque ecclesiasticos nunquam satis laudata. Camden in apparat. 23. Mulier sane pia, clemens, moribusque castis-imis, et usquequaque laudanda, si religionis errorem non spectes. Godwin, 123.*

† MS. life of the duchess of Feria, 114. Faunt, Walsingham's secretary, says of Elizabeth's court, that it was a place "where all enormities were practised; where sin reigned in the highest degree." Aug. 6, 1583. Birch, i. 39.

‡ This anecdote is told by Persons in one of his tracts, and by Burnet. 11. 278.

Latin, excited their admiration *. Her speeches in public, and from the throne, were delivered with grace and fluency; and her conferences with Noailles, as related in his despatches, show her to have possessed an acute and vigorous mind, and to have been on most subjects a match for that subtle and intriguing negociator.

It had been the custom of her predecessors to devote the summer months to "progresses" through different counties. But these journeys produced considerable injury and inconvenience to the farmers, who were not only compelled to furnish provisions to the purveyors at inadequate prices, but were withdrawn from the labours of the harvest to aid with their horses and waggons in the frequent removals of the court, and of the multitude which accompanied it. Mary, through consideration for the interests and comforts of the husbandman, refused herself this pleasure; and generally confined her excursions to Croydon, a manor belonging to the church of Canterbury. There it formed her chief amusement to walk out in the company of her maids, without any distinction of dress, and in this disguise to visit the houses of the neighbouring poor. She inquired into their circumstances, relieved their wants, spoke in their favour to her officers, and often, where the family was numerous, apprenticed, at her own expense, such of the children as appeared of promising dispositions †.

During her reign, short as it was, and disturbed by repeated insurrections, much attention was paid to the interests of the two universities, not only by the queen herself, who restored to them that portion of their revenues which had devolved on the crown, but also by individuals, who devoted their private fortunes to the advancement of learning. At a time when the rage for

* Nella latina faria stupir ognuno con le risposte che da. Michele's report, MSS. Barber. 1208. He adds, that she was fond of music and excelled on the monochord and the lute, two fashionable instruments at that time. English writers also praise her proficiency in the Latin language. She had translated for publication the paraphrase of Erasmus on the gospel of St. John. Warton's *Sir Thomas Pope*, 57.

† MS. life of the duchess of Feria, p. 120.

polemic disputation had almost expelled the study of classic literature from the schools, sir Thomas Pope founded Trinity college, in Oxford, and made it a particular regulation, that its inmates should acquire "a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin tongue." About three years later, sir Thomas White established St. John's, on the site of Bernard's college, the foundation of archbishop Chicheley; and at the same time, the celebrated Dr. Caius, at Cambridge, made so considerable an addition to Gonvil hall, and endowed it with so many advowsons, manors, and demesnes, that it now bears his name, in conjunction with that of the original founder.

Though her parliaments were convoked for temporary purposes, they made several salutary enactments, respecting the offence of treason, the office of sheriff, the powers of magistrates, the relief of the poor, and the practice of the courts of law *. The merit of these may probably be due to her council; but of her own solicitude for the equal administration of justice, we have a convincing proof. It had long been complained that in suits, to which the crown was a party, the subject, whatever were his right, had no probability of a favourable decision, on account of the superior advantages claimed and enjoyed by the counsel for the sovereign. When Mary appointed Morgan chief justice of the court of common pleas, she took the opportunity to express her disapprobation of this grievance. "I charge you, sir," said she, "to minister the law and justice indifferently, without respect of person; and, notwithstanding the old error among you, which will not admit any witness to speak, or other matter to be heard, in favour of the adversary, the crown being a party, it is my pleasure that

* On the subject of taxation, the Venetian ambassador has the following passage. "The liberty of this country is really singular and wonderful: indeed there is no other country in my opinion less burthened, and more free. For they have not only no taxes of any kind, but they are not even thought of: no tax on salt, wine, beer, flour, meat, cloth, and the other necessities of life. . . Here every one indifferently, whether noble or of the common people, is in the free and unmolested enjoyment of all he possesses, or daily acquires, relating either to food or raiment, to buying or selling, except in those articles which he imports or exports in the way of traffick." See the translation by Mr. Ellis, ii. 234.

“ whatever can be brought in favour of the subject may be admitted and heard. You are to sit there, not as advocates for me, but as indifferent judges between me and my people*.”

Neither were the interests of trade neglected during her government. She had the honour of concluding the first commercial treaty with Russia. Edward died long before Challoner returned from Archangel †; but the letter which he brought was delivered to the queen, and the report of the wonders which he had seen excited an extraordinary spirit of enterprise throughout the nation. A new company was formed, 1555. with the same Sebastian Cabote for its director, and was incorporated by Philip and Mary under the title of “ Merchantes Adventurers of Englande for the Discoveryes of 26. “ Lands, Territories, Isles, and Signories unknown.” The list of shareholders exhibits the names of the lord high treasurer, and all the high officers of state, of all the officers of the household, of lords, knights, barristers, and individuals of every rank, with the exception of clergymen and the judges. By their charter they were empowered to discover unknown countries by sailing “ northwards, northwards, or northeastwards, to erect the banners of England thereon, to subdue all maner of cities, townes, isles, and “ mayne lands of infidelity ” so discovered, and to acquire the dominion thereof for the king and queen, and their heirs and successors for ever. Moreover, the trade with Russia, and all the countries which might be discovered in virtue of this charter, was granted to the company exclusively, and the intruder, if he were an English subject, was made liable to fine and forfeiture; if he were an alien, they were authorized to resist him as an open enemy. This was the origin of the Russian Company ‡.

April 1. Challoner was now sent back with a letter to the czar. 1556. Sailing up the Dwina, he traversed the country to Moscow, obtained from that prince the most flattering promises, and July 20. returned with Osep Napea Gregorivitch, as ambassador to Nov. Mary. They reached the bay of Pettisligo, in the north of 10. Scotland: but during the night the ship was driven from her anchors upon the rocks. Challoner perished; the ambas-

* State Trials, i. 72.

† See p. 107.

‡ See charter of incorporation in the Transcripts for the New Rymer, p. 305.

sador saved his life : but his property and the presents for the queen were carried off by the natives, who plundered the wreck. Mary sent two messengers to Edinburgh to supply his wants, and to complain of the detention of his effects *. No redress could be obtained ; but she made every effort to console him for his loss. On the borders of each county the sheriffs received him in state ; he was met in the neighbourhood of London by Lord Montague with three hundred horse ; and during his stay in the capital the king and queen, the lord mayor and the company, treated him with extraordinary distinction. He appeared, however, to mistrust these demonstrations of kindness ; and it was not without difficulty that he was brought to accede to many of the demands of the merchants. At length a treaty was concluded by the address of the bishop of Ely and sir William Petre ; and Napea was sent back to his own country loaded with presents for himself, and still more valuable gifts for his sovereign. The trade fully compensated the queen and the nation for these efforts and expenses ; and the woollen cloths and coarse linens of England were exchanged at an immense profit for the valuable skins and furs of the northern regions †.

Mary may also claim the merit of having supported the commercial interests of the country against the pretensions of a company of foreign merchants, which had existed for centuries in London, under the different denominations of Easterlings, merchants of the Hanse towns, and merchants of the Steelyard. By their readiness to advance loans of money on sudden emergencies, they had purchased the most valuable privileges from several of our monarchs. They formed a corporation, governed by its own laws ; whatever

* Lord Wharton, in a letter from Berwick of February 28th, says, "A great number in that realm ar sorye that they suffered the imbassador of Russia to departe owte of the same ; he may thanke God that he escaped from their crewell covetouse with his lief." Lodge, i. 224.

† Legatorum nemo unquam quisquam (sicut autumo) magnificentius apud nostros acceptus est. (Godwin, 129.) The presents which he received for himself and his sovereign, from the king and queen, are enumerated by Stowe, 630. Among them are a lion and lioness. All his expenses, from his arrival in Scotland to the day on which he left England, were defrayed by the merchants. I may here observe, that at this time, according to the report of the Venetian ambassador, there were many merchants in London worth fifty or sixty thousand pounds each, that the inhabitants amounted to 180,000 and that it was not surpassed in wealth by any city in Europe. Si puo dire per vero que puo quella città senza dubio star a paragone delle più ricche d' Europa. MSS. Barber. 1208, p. 137.

duties were exacted from others, they paid no more than one per cent. on their merchandise ; they were at the same time buyers and sellers, brokers and carriers ; they imported jewels and bullion, cloth of gold and of silver, tapestry and wrought silk, arms, naval stores, and household furniture ; and exported wool and woollen cloths, skins, lead and tin, cheese and beer, and Mediterranean wines. Their privileges and wealth gave them a superiority over all other merchants which excluded competition, and enabled them to raise or depress the prices almost at pleasure. In the last reign the public feeling against them had been manifested by frequent acts of violence, and several petitions had been presented to the council, complaining of the injuries suffered by the English 1552. merchants. After a long investigation it was declared Feb. that the company had violated, and consequently had 24. forfeited, its charter : but by dint of remonstrances, of July. presents, and of foreign intercession, it obtained, in the 8. course of a few weeks, a royal licence to resume the traffic under the former regulations *. In Mary's first parliament a new blow was aimed at its privileges ; and it was enacted, in the bill of tonnage and poundage, that the Easterlings should pay the same duties as other 1554. foreign merchants. The queen, indeed, was induced to Jan. suspend, for a while, the operation of the statute † ; but 15. she soon discerned the true interest of her subjects, 1555. revoked the privileges of the company, and refused to Jan. listen to the arguments adduced, or the intercession made 2. in its favour ‡. Elizabeth followed the policy of her predecessor : the steelyard was at length shut up ; and the Hanse towns, after a long and expensive suit, yielded to necessity, and abandoned the contest.

Ireland, during this reign, offers but few subjects to attract the notice of the reader. The officers of government were careful to copy the proceedings in England. They first proclaimed the lady Jane, and then the lady Mary. They suffered the new service to fall into desuetude ; Dowdall resumed the archbishopric of Armagh : the married prelates and clergy lost their benefices ; and Bale, the celebrated bishop of Ossory, who had often

* Strype, ii. 295, 296.

† Rym. xv. 364, 365.

‡ Neaumes, iv. 137.

endangered his life by his violence and fanaticism, had the prudence to withdraw to the continent. When the Irish parliament met, it selected most of its enactments from the English statute-book. The legitimacy and right of the queen were affirmed, the ancient service restored, and the papal authority acknowledged *. But, though the laws against heresy were revived, they were not carried into execution. The number of the reformers proved too small to excite apprehension, and their zeal too cautious to offer provocation.

The lord deputy, the earl of Sussex, distinguished himself by the vigour of his government. He recovered from the native Irish the two districts of Ofally and Leix, which he moulded into counties, and named King's county and Queen's county, in honour of Philip and Mary. He was also careful to define, by a new statute, the meaning of Poyning's act †. It provided that no parliament should be summoned till the reasons why it should be held, and the bills which it was intended to pass, had been submitted to the consideration, and had received the consent, of the sovereign ; and that, if anything occurred during the session to make additional enactments necessary, these should in the same manner be certified to the king, and be approved by him, before they were laid before the two houses. By this act the usage was determined of holding parliaments in Ireland ‡.

* Irish Stat. 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, 1, 2, 3, 4.

† See Hist. vol. v. p. 421. 422.

‡ Mary's will has been published for the first time by sir Fred. Madden, in his "Privy purse expenses of the princess Mary," App. No. iv. She states that she made her will being in good health, "but foreseeing the great dangers which by Godd's ordynance remaine to all women in ther travel of children." (30 Mar., 1558.) Then follow several bequests, some of which are highly honourable to her memory. She appears to have intended to do that which was not accomplished till the reign of Charles II. She orders her executors to provide a house in London, with an income of the clear yearly value of 400 marks, "for the relefe, succour, and helpe of pore, impotent, and aged soldiers, and chiefly those that be fallen into extreme poverte, having no pensyon or other pretense of lyvyng, or are become hurt or maymd in the warres of this realm, or in onny service for the defense and suerte of ther prince, and of ther coun-
"trei, or of the domynions therunto belonging," p. xc1. Some months later (28 Oct., 1558), when she no longer hoped for issue to succeed her, she added a codicil confirmatory of her former will, with an admonition to her successor to fulfil it "according to her trewe mind and intente, for which he or she will, no doubt, be rewarded of God, and avoid his divine justice pronounced and executed against such as be violaters and breakers of "wills and testaments." It is unnecessary to add that no attention was afterwards paid to any part of this instrument.

CHAPTER IV.

ELIZABETH.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Emperors.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Ferdinand.. 1564.	Mary. 1587.	Henry II.. 1559.	Philip II... 1598.
Maximilian. 1576.	James VI.	Francis II.. 1560.	Philip III.
Rodolph.		Charles IX. 1574.	
		Henry III.. 1589.	
		Henry IV.	

Popes :

Paul IV., 1559. Pius IV., 1565. Pius V., 1572. Gregory XIII., 1585.
Sixtus V., 1590. Urban VII., 1590. Gregory XIV., 1591. Innocent
IX., 1591. Clement VIII.

Accession of Elizabeth—Abolition of the Catholic Worship—Peace with
France and Scotland—War of the Scottish Reformation—Intrigues of
Cecil with the Reformers—Siege of Leith—Treaties of Peace—Return
of Mary Stuart to Scotland—Suitors of Elizabeth.

1558. **WHATEVER** opinion men might entertain of the legiti-
Nov. macy of Elizabeth, she ascended the throne without oppo-
17. sition. Mary had expired about noon; and in a short
time the commons received a message to attend at the
bar of the house of lords. On their arrival the important
event was announced by archbishop Heath, the lord
chancellor. God, he said, had taken to his mercy their
late sovereign the lady Mary, and had given them ano-
ther in the person of her royal sister the lady Elizabeth.
Of the right of Elizabeth there could be no doubt. It
had been established by the statute of the thirty-first of
Henry VIII.; and nothing remained for the two houses
but to discharge their duty, by recognising the accession
of the new sovereign. Her title was immediately pro-
claimed, first in Westminster Hall, and again at Temple
Bar, in presence of the lord mayor, the aldermen, and the
companies of the city*.

From the palace a deputation of the council repaired to

* Journal of Commons, 53. Camden, i. 2. 5.

Hatfield, the residence of the new queen. She received them courteously, and to their congratulations replied in a formal and studied discourse. She was struck with amazement when she considered herself and the dignity to which she had been called. Her shoulders were too weak to support the burden : but it was her duty to submit to the will of God, and to seek the aid of wise and faithful advisers. For this purpose she would in a few days appoint a new council. It was her intention to retain several of those who had been inured to business under her father, brother, and sister ; and if the others were not employed she would have them to believe that it was not through distrust of their ability or will to serve her, but through a wish to avoid that indecision and delay which so often arise from the jarring opinions of a multitude of advisers*.

This answer had been suggested by the man to whom she had already given her confidence, sir William Cecil, formerly secretary to Edward VI. Having obtained a pardon in the last reign for his share in the treason of Northumberland, he had sought, by feigning an attachment to the catholic faith, to worm himself into the good graces of Mary. But that queen, though cardinal Pole professed to be his friend, always doubted his sincerity ; her reserve, joined to her increasing infirmities, taught him to divert his devotion from “ the setting to “ the rising sun ;” and Elizabeth accepted with joy and gratitude the services of so able and experienced a statesman†.

Cecil was appointed secretary ; and the queen with his aid named the members of her council. Of the advisers of Mary she retained those who were distinguished for their capacity, or formidable by their influence ; and to these she added eight others, who had deserved that honour by their former attachment to her in her troubles, or owed it to their connexion with the secretary by consanguinity or friendship. It was remarked, that all the old councillors professed themselves catholics, all the new, protestants ; that the former

* *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 66.

† *Philopater*, 24—26. Dr. Nares, in his “ *Memoirs of Lord Burghley*,” has furnished us with the following proof of Cecil’s conformity under Mary, from a certificate in the writing of his steward, and endorsed by himself :—“ The Wimbledon Easter book. 1556.” “ The names of them that dwelleft in the pariche of Wimbletown, that was confessed and resaved the sacrament of the altie. My master sir Wilyem Cecil, and my lady Mildreade “ his wyfe, &c.” Cecil, though a layman, had been made rector of Wimbledon in Edward’s reign, and occupied the parsonage-house.

comprised several who, in the last reign, had proved most active champions of the ancient faith ; the latter some who had suffered imprisonment or exile for their adherence to the reformed doctrines *. In a body composed of such discordant elements, much harmony could not be expected : but this council was rather for show than real use ; there was another and secret cabinet, consisting of Cecil and his particular friends, who possessed the ear of the queen, and controlled through her every department in the state.

One of the first cares of the new government was to notify to the people and to foreign courts the death of Mary, and the succession of the new sovereign ; but this was done in language which shadowed forth the coming changes already in contemplation. Though the statute of Henry VIII., by which Elizabeth had been pronounced illegitimate, was still in force, she was made in her proclamation to the people to style herself “ the only right heyre in bludde † ;” and in her letters to foreign princes to attribute her succession to her right of inheritance and the consent of the nation ‡. The instructions sent to the ambassadors varied according to the presumed disposition of the courts at which they resided. The emperor Ferdinand and Philip of Spain were assured of the intention of the queen to maintain and strengthen the existing alliance between the house of Austria and the English crown ; to the king of Denmark, the duke of Holstein and the Lutheran princes of Germany, a confidential communication was made of her attachment to the reformed faith, and of her wish to cement an union among all its professors § ; and Carne, the resident at Rome, was ordered to acquaint the pontiff that she had succeeded to her sister, and had determined to offer no violence to the consciences of her

* Camden, i. 26, 27. The old counsellors were archbishop Heath, the marquess of Winchester, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke, the lords Clinton and Howard of Effingham, the knights Cheney, Petre, Mason, and Sackville, and the civilian Dr. Boxall; the new, the earl of Bedford, William Parr, who recovered his former title of marquess of Northampton (15th Jan., 1559), sir William Cecil, Ambrose Cave, Francis Knollis, Thomas Parry, Edward Rogers, and Nicholas Bacon. Knollis and Rogers had gone into exile in the last reign ; Cave had always been a zealous partisan of Elizabeth ; Parry, who was distantly related to Cecil, held an office in her household ; and Bacon, who had risen to eminence in the profession of the law, had married the sister of lady Cecil.

† Strype's Annals, i. app. no. 1.

‡ Camden.

§ Ibid. i. 28. Carne died in Rome, Jan. 11, 1561.

subjects, whatever might be their religious creed. But his ear, so the story runs, had been pre-occupied by the diligence of the French ambassador, who suggested that to admit the succession of Elizabeth would be to approve the pretended marriage of her parents, Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn; to annul the decisions of Clement VII. and Paul III.; to prejudge the claim of the true and legitimate heir, Mary queen of Scots; and to offend the king of France, who had determined to support the right of his daughter-in-law with all the power of his realm. When, therefore, Carne performed his commission, Paul replied, that he was unable to comprehend the hereditary right of one who was not born in lawful wedlock; that the queen of Scots claimed the crown as the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry VII.; but that if Elizabeth were willing to submit the controversy to his arbitration, she should receive from him every indulgence which justice could allow*.

The whole of this narrative is undoubtedly a fiction, invented, it is probable, by the enemies of the pontiff, to throw on him the blame of the subsequent rupture between England and Rome. Carne was, indeed, still in that city; but his commission had expired at the death of Mary; he could make no official communication without instructions from the new sovereign. According to the ordinary course, he ought to have been revoked, or accredited again to the pontiff. But no more notice was taken of him by the ministers than they could have done had they been ignorant of his existence. The only information which he obtained of English transactions was derived from the reports of the day. Wearied with the anomalous and painful situation in which he stood, he most earnestly requested to be recalled, and at length succeeded in his request, but not till more than three months after the queen had ascended the throne. It is plain, then, that Carne made no notification to Paul; and if any one else had been employed for that purpose some trace of his appointment and his name might be discovered in our national or in foreign documents and historians†.

* Pallavicino, ii. 521.

† In former editions I followed the stream of writers on this subject. The researches of the late Mr. Howard, of Corby Castle, have convinced me that all are in error. This appears from Carne's letter of December 31 to Cecil Vol. VII.

The reader will recollect that, during the reign of her sister, Elizabeth had professed herself a convert to the ancient faith. The catholics were willing to believe that her conformity arose from conviction; the protestants, while they lamented her apostacy, persuaded themselves that she feigned sentiments which she did not feel. It is probable that, in her own mind, she was indifferent to either form of worship; but her ministers, whose prospects depended on the change, urged their mistress to put down a religion which proclaimed her a bastard, and to support the reformed doctrines, which alone could give stability to her throne. After some hesitation Elizabeth complied: but the caution of Cecil checked the precipitancy of the zealots, who condemned every delay as an additional offence to God; and a resolution was adopted to suppress all knowledge of the intended measure, till every precaution had been taken to ensure its success*.

With this view the following plan was submitted to the approbation of the queen: 1°. to forbid all manner of sermons, that the preachers might not excite their hearers to resistance; 2°. to intimidate the clergy by prosecutions under the statutes of premunire and other penal laws; 3°. to debase in the eyes of the people all who had been in authority under the late queen, by rigorous inquiries into their conduct, and by bringing them, whenever it were possible, under the lash of the law; 4°. to remove the present magistrates, and to appoint others, "meaner in substance and younger in years," but better affected to the reformed doctrines; 5°. to name a secret committee of divines, who should revise and correct the liturgy published by Edward VI.;

(State Paper office, bundle no. 4; Rome and Italian States); and an original letter in Cotton MS. Nero, B. vi. p. 9. His letter of recall was dated February 9, and received by him March 10. The same appears also from a Mandamus to Carne from the cardinal secretary of state, enclosed in the last letter, stating that huc usque Carne had had no appointment but from queen Mary. In an extract from a letter of Carne of February 14, 1559, to the queen, he says that a cardinal had informed him that the pope wished to have some one accredited from her. Burleigh Papers, by Murdin, Feb. 14, 1559.

* *Nonnuli ex intimis consiliariis in aures assidue insurrarunt, dum timerent ne animus in dubio facillime impelleretur, actum de ipsa et amicis esse, si pontificiam auctoritatem, &c. Camden, 30. Regina interea, etsi aperte faveat nostræ causæ, tamen partim a suis, quorum consilio omnia geruntur, partim à legato Philippi Comite Ferio, homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari, mirifice deterretur. Jewel to P Martyr, 20 Mar. 1559. Burnet, iv. 551. Oct.*

and lastly, to communicate the plan to no other persons than Parr, the late marquess of Northampton, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and the lord John Grey, till the time should arrive when it must be laid before the whole council*.

Hitherto Elizabeth, by the ambiguity of her conduct, had contrived to balance the hopes and fears of the two parties. She continued to assist, and occasionally to communicate, at mass; she buried her sister with all Dec. the solemnities of the catholic ritual; and she ordered 14. a solemn dirge, and a mass of requiem, for the soul of 23 the emperor Charles V. But if these things served to lessen the apprehensions of the catholics, there was also much to flatter the expectations of the gospellers. The prisoners for religion were discharged on their own recognisances to appear whenever they should be called; the reformed divines returned from exile, and appeared openly at court; and Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, Dec. preparing to say mass in the royal chapel on Christmas 25. day, received an order not to elevate the host in the royal presence. He replied that his life was the queen's, but that his conscience was his own: on which Elizabeth, rising immediately after the gospel,† retired with her attendants ‡.

By degrees the secret was suffered to transpire. The bishops saw with surprise that White, of Winchester, had been imprisoned for his sermon at the funeral of queen Mary ‡, and that Bonner, of London, was called upon to account for the different fines which had been levied in his courts during the last reign. Archbishop Heath either received a hint, or deemed it prudent, to resign the seals, which, with the title of lord keeper, Dec. were transferred to sir Nicholas Bacon. But that 22. which cleared away every doubt was a proclamation, 27 forbidding the clergy to preach, and ordering the established worship to be observed "until consultation

* See a paper published by Burnet, ii. 327: and more accurately by Strype, *Annals*, i. rec. 4.

† Camden, 32, 33. Allen, *Answer to English justice*, 51. Loseley MSS. 184. *Memorias*, 26. It was at the offertory, not at the elevation, that she withdrew.

‡ This sermon may be seen in Strype's *Memorias*, iii. rec. 278—298.

“might be had in parliament by the queen and the “three estates*.” Alarmed by this clause, the bishops assembled in London, and consulted whether they could in conscience officiate at the coronation of a princess, who, it was probable, would object to some part of the service, as ungodly and superstitious, and who, if she did not refuse to take, certainly meant to violate, that part of the oath, which bound the sovereign to maintain the liberties of the established church. The question was put, and was unanimously resolved in the negative.

This unexpected determination of the prelates created considerable embarrassment. Much importance was still attached to the rite of coronation. It was thought necessary that the ceremony should be performed before the queen met her parliament; and it was feared that the people would not consider it valid, unless it were performed by a prelate of the establishment. Many expedients were devised to remove or surmount the difficulty; and at last the bishop of Carlisle separated himself from his colleagues. But, if he was prevailed upon to crown the queen, she on her part was compelled to take the accustomed oath, to receive the sacrament under one kind, and to conform to all the rites of the catholic pontifical. No expense was spared by the court or by the citizens: but the absence of the prelates threw an unusual gloom over the ceremony. Their example was imitated by the conde de Feria, the Spanish ambassador, who was invited, but under the pretence of sickness declined to attend †.

Cecil had now completed every arrangement preparatory to the meeting of parliament. Five new peers, of protestant principles, had been added to the upper house ‡: in the lower, a majority had been secured by

* Wilk. Con. iv. 180. It allowed no other alteration in the service than the recital in English of the Lord's prayer, the creed, the litany, the commandments, and the epistle and gospel of the day.

† Camden, 33. Gonzalez, 264. Yet the coronation oath proved no bar to the alienation of the bishops' lands, or the change of religion by act of parliament, in the course of the year.

‡ They were William Parr, restored to his title of marquess of North-

the expedient of sending to the sheriffs a list of court candidates, out of whom the members were to be chosen*; and the committee of reformed divines, who had secretly assembled in the house of Sir Thomas Smith, had moulded the book of common prayer into a less objectionable form. On the twenty-fifth of January the queen assisted in state at a solemn high mass, which Jan. was followed by a sermon from Dr. Cox, a reformed 25. preacher. The lord-keeper then opened the parliament in her presence. He first drew a melancholy picture of the state of the realm under queen Mary, and next exhibited the cheering prospect of the blessings which awaited it under the new sovereign. She had called the two houses together, that they might consult respecting an uniform order of religion; might remove abuses and enormities, and might provide for the safety of the state against its foreign and domestic enemies. They were not, however, to suppose that their concurrence was necessary for these purposes—the queen could have effected them, if she had so pleased, of her own authority—but “she rather sought contentation by assent, and surety by advice, and was willing to require of her loving subjects nothing which they were not contented freely and frankly to offer†.”

Before the commons proceeded to any business of importance, they voted “an humble but earnest address Feb. to the queen, that she would vouchsafe to accept some 4. “match capable of supplying heirs to her majesty’s “royal virtues and dominions.” It was presented by the speaker, attended by thirty members. There was, perhaps, no subject on which Elizabeth could less brook the officious interference of others; but on this occasion Feb. policy taught her to bridle her resentment; and she replied, 10.

ampton: Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford; Thomas, second son of the late duke of Norfolk, viscount Howard of Bindon; sir Oliver St. John, lord Bletso; and sir Henry Carey, son of Mary Boleyn, Lord Hunsdon.

* Strype, i. 32. The court named five candidates for the shires, three for the boroughs. Clarendon Papers, 92.

† D'Ewes, 11.

that, though during the last reign she had many powerful inducements to marry, she had, nevertheless, preferred, and still continued to prefer, a single life. What might hereafter happen, she could not foresee: if she took a husband, her object would be the welfare of her people; if she did not, God would provide a successor. For herself, she should be content to have it inscribed on her tomb, that she had reigned and died a maiden queen. But whatever she thought of the matter, she was pleased with the manner of their address; because it did not, as it ought not, presume to point out either the person or the place. It was not for them "to draw her love to their liking, or to frame her will by their fantasy. Theirs it was to beg, not to prescribe; to obey, not to bind." She would therefore take their coming in good part, and dismiss them with her thanks, not for their petition, but for their intention*.

The reader is aware, that both Mary and Elizabeth, though they had been pronounced illegitimate by act of parliament, were afterwards called to the throne by the statute of the 35th of Henry VIII. Mary, on her accession, had been careful to wipe away the stain of illegitimacy, by procuring in her first parliament a confirmation of her mother's marriage, and a repeal of all statutes or judgments by which it had been impeached. Was Elizabeth to imitate her sister? Her advisers preferred to leave both the act which declared the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn void from the beginning, and that which convicted the latter of incest, adultery, and treason, uncontradicted on the statute book, and had recourse to an act of recognition, which, with happy ambiguity of language, blended together her presumed right from her royal descent with that which she derived from the statute; two things inconsistent with each other, because the enactment by statute was founded on the supposition of illegitimacy.

* D'Ewes, 46, and Journals of Commons, 54.

It declared that she was and ought to be rightful and lawful queen, rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended and come of the blood royal, to whom, and the heirs of her body lawfully to be begotten, the royal estate, place, crown and dignity, with all its titles and appurtenances belonged, as rightfully as they ever did to her father, brother, and sister, since the act of succession passed in the 35th of Henry VIII.; and then enacted that this recognition, in union with the limitation in that statute, should be the law of the realm for ever, and that every judgment or act derogatory from either, should be void and of no effect, and might be cancelled at the queen's pleasure*. In addition, an act was passed, which, without reversing the attainder of Anne Boleyn, restored Elizabeth in blood, and rendered her inheritable to her mother, and to all her ancestors on the part of her said mother†.

But the subject which principally occupied the attention of parliament was the alteration of religion. With this view, the statutes passed in the late reign for the support of the ancient faith were repealed, and the acts of Henry VIII. in derogation of the papal authority, and of Edward VI. in favour of the reformed service, were in a great measure revived. It was enacted that the book of common prayer, with certain additions and emendations, should alone be used by the ministers in all churches, under the penalties of forfeiture, deprivation, and death; that the spiritual authority of every foreign prelate within the realm should be utterly abolished; that the jurisdiction necessary for the cor-

* Stat. of Realm, iv. 358. It may have been the object of this clause to establish more firmly the title of Elizabeth; indirectly, however, it affected, in the eyes of the public, the rights of the young queen of Scots, the next heir. For the limitation in the statute gave the succession, after Elizabeth, to those individuals to whom Henry should assign it by his last will; and the instrument purporting to be that will had overlooked the Scottish line to substitute in its place the numerous descendants of Henry's younger sister, the French queen. This was the first of those unfriendly offices which the unfortunate Mary Stuart received from her English cousin. The French court appears to have felt and resented it as an affront. No remonstrance was, indeed, made; but within a month the king dauphin had quartered in his coat the arms of England, with those of Scotland, in right of his wife. Forbes, State Papers. i. 151.

† Stat. of Realm, iv. 397.

rection of errors, heresies, schisms, and abuses, should be annexed to the crown, with the power of delegating such jurisdiction to any person or persons whatsoever, at the pleasure of the sovereign*; that the penalty of asserting the papal authority should ascend, on the repetition of the offence, from the forfeiture of real and personal property, to perpetual imprisonment; and from perpetual imprisonment to death, as it was inflicted in cases of high treason; and that all clergymen taking orders, or in possession of livings; all magistrates and inferior officers having fees or wages from the crown, all laymen suing out the livery of their lands, or about to do homage to the queen, should, under pain of deprivation and incapacity, take an oath declaring her to be supreme governor in all ecclesiastical and spiritual things or causes as well as temporal, and renouncing all foreign ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction or authority whatsoever within the realm†.

On the part of the clergy, these bills experienced a
 Feb. most vigorous but fruitless opposition. The convocation
 28. presented to the house of lords a declaration of its belief in the real presence, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and the supremacy of the pope; with a protestation, that to decide on doctrine, sacraments, and discipline, belonged, not to any lay assembly, but to the lawful pastors of the church‡. Both univer-
 Mar. sities subscribed the confession of the convocation; and
 10 the bishops unanimously seized every opportunity to speak, and to vote against the measure§. To dissolve

* It was, however, provided that these delegates should not have the power to adjudge any matter to be heresy, which had not been so adjudged by some general council, or the express words of Scripture, or should afterwards be adjudged to be so by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation. St. 1 Eliz. c. 1.

† See note (E). Many other bills for a further reformation were introduced and abandoned. Particularly the queen would not agree to the revival of the act of Edward VI. legalizing the marriages of the clergy. They should be content, she said, if she connived at them; for she would never sanction them. "This," exclaims Sands, in a letter to Parker, "is nothing else than to bastard our children." Burnet, ii. rec. 322.

‡ Wilk. Con. iv. 179.

§ The speeches of the archbishop of York, of the bishop of Chester, and of Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, may be seen in Strype, i. rec. 7. et seq. In this opposition they were encouraged by the Spanish ambassador,

or neutralize this opposition, an ingenious expedient was devised. Five bishops and three doctors on the one side, and eight reformed divines on the other, received the royal command to dispute in public on certain controverted points. Bacon, the lord-keeper, was commissioned to act as moderator; and the debates of the two houses were suspended, that the members might have leisure to attend to the controversy. It had been ordered that on each day the catholics should begin, and the reformers should answer: but on the second morning the prelates objected to an arrangement, which gave so palpable an advantage to their adversaries; and, when Bacon refused to listen to their remonstrances, declared that the conference was at an end. The council immediately committed the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln to the Tower, and bound the other six disputants in their own recognizances to make their appearance daily, till judgment should be pronounced*. It was pretended that they had deserved this severity by their disobedience: but the real object was, by the imprisonment of the two prelates, and the fear of the punishment which threatened the others, to silence the opposition in the house of lords. The bill in favour of the new book of common prayer was now read a last time, and was carried by a majority of three. Nine spiritual and nine temporal peers voted against it†.

After these enactments, it devolved on the queen to

at whose disposal Philip had placed the sum of 60,000 crowns, to be "economically" employed in support of the catholic cause. Gonzalez, 267.

* They attended daily, from the 5th of April, till after the dissolution of the parliament, and on the 10th of May were fined, the bishop of Lichfield in 500 marks, of Carlisle 250 pounds, of Chester 200 marks, Dr. Cole 500 marks, Dr. Harpsfield 40 pounds, and Dr. Chedsey 40 marks. Strype, i. 87, rec. 41. Fox, iii. 822. Burnet, ii. 390, rec. 333.

† It is extraordinary that, in the journals of the lords, no trace remains of the proceedings during the week, in which this bill was read three times and passed, that is, from April 22, to May 1. Yet it appears, from the references in D'Ewes, p. 23, that the proceedings were regularly entered. Two bishops were prevented from voting by their detention in the Tower and Feckenham was also absent. The non-contents were the marquess of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montague, the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North. D'Ewes, *ibid*.

provide a new hierarchy for the new church. She first sent for the bishops then in London, and required them to conform; but they pleaded the prohibition of conscience, and were dismissed with expressions of scorn and resentment. The next step was to tender to them

July. the oath of supremacy; on their refusal they were deprived of their bishoprics, and committed to custody. The same fate awaited their colleagues in the country;

Sept. and, before winter, all queen Mary's prelates were weeded out of the church, with the exception of Kitchin,

Oct. who submitted to take the oath, and in consequence was suffered to retain the see of Landaff*. To supply their places a selection had been made out of the exiles who hastened back from Geneva, Basle, and Frankfort, and out of the clergymen in England, who during the last reign had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the reformed worship. At their head, Elizabeth resolved to place, as metropolitan, both through respect to the memory of her mother, and in reward of his own merit, Dr. Matthew Parker, formerly chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and under Edward, dean of the church of Lincoln.

Aug. In obedience to a *congé d'élire* he was chosen by

1. a portion of the chapter—the major part refusing to attend—but four months were suffered to elapse between his election and his entrance on the archiepiscopal office. This was on account of two very extraordinary impediments†. By the revival of the 25th of Henry VIII., it was made necessary, that the election of the archbishop should be confirmed, and his consecration be performed by four bishops. But how were four bishops to be found, when by the deprivation of the catholic prelates there remained in the kingdom but one lawful bishop, he of Landaff? Again, the use of the ordinal of Edward VI. had been abolished by parliament in the last reign, that of the catholic ordinal by parliament in the present; **in**

* See note (F).

† See Parker's letter in Strype's Parker, with the notes upon it written by Cecil, p. 40.

what manner then was Parker to be consecrated, when there existed no form of consecration recognized by law? Six theologians and canonists were consulted, who returned an opinion, that, in a case of such urgent necessity, the queen possessed the power of supplying every defect through the plenitude of her ecclesiastical authority, as head of the church. In conformity with this answer, a commission with a sanatory clause was issued *; Dec. 6 and four of the commissioners, Barlowe, the deprived bishop of Bath, and Hodgkins, once suffragan of Bedford, who had both been consecrated according to the catholic pontifical, and Scorey the deprived bishop of Chichester, and Coverdale, the deprived bishop of Exeter, who had both been consecrated according to the reformed ordinal, proceeded to confirm the election of Parker, and then to consecrate him after the form adopted towards the close of the reign of Edward VI. A few days later, Parker, as archbishop, confirmed the election of two of those by whom his own election had been confirmed, of Barlow to the see of Chichester, and of Scorey to that of Hereford: and then, assuming them for his assistants—for three bishops were requisite by law—confirmed and consecrated all the other prelates elect †.

The new bishops, however, were doomed to meet with a severe disappointment on their very entry into office. It had been the uniform practice, wherever the reformation penetrated, to reward the services of its lay abettors out of the possessions of the church; but in England it was conceived that few gleanings of this description could now remain, after the spoliations of the late reigns. Still the ingenuity of Elizabeth's advisers discovered a resource hitherto unobserved, and had procured two acts to be passed in the late parliament, by the first of which all the ecclesiastical property restored by queen Mary to the church was re-annexed to the crown; and by the other the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any

* Rym. xv. 549.

† See note (G).

bishopric, to take possession of the lands belonging to such bishopric, with the exception of the chief mansion-house and its domain, on condition that she gave in return an equivalent in tithes and parsonages appropriate. Now, by the deprivation of the catholic prelates every bishopric but one had become vacant, and commissioners had already been appointed to carry into effect the exchange contemplated by the act. The new prelates saw with dismay this attempt to tear from their respective sees the most valuable of their possessions. They ventured to expostulate with their royal patroness; they appealed to her charity and piety; they offered her a yearly present of one thousand pounds. But their efforts were fruitless; she refused to accept their homage, or to restore their temporalities, till the work of 1560. spoliation was completed. Then they accepted their Mar. bishoprics in the state to which they had been reduced; 21. and the lands taken from them were distributed by the queen among the more needy or the more rapacious of her favourites*.

After the consecration of the new bishops, there was little to impede the progress of the reformed worship. The oath of supremacy was tendered by them to the clergy of their respective dioceses. In general it was refused by the deans, prebendaries, archdeacons, and the leading members of the universities, who sacrificed their offices and emoluments, and in some cases their personal liberty, to the dictates of their consciences: but among the lower orders of the clergy, many thought proper to conform, some through partiality for the new doctrines, some through the dread of poverty, and some under the persuasion that the present would soon be followed by another religious revolution. With the aid of commissions, injunctions, and visitations, the church was gradually purged of the non-juring clergy; but their absence left a considerable vacancy, which was but in-

* Stat. of Realm, iv. 381. Strype, i. 97.

adequately supplied by the reformed ministers ; and it became necessary to establish for the moment a class of lay instructors, consisting of mechanics, licensed to read the service to the people in the church, but forbidden to administer the sacrament*.

While the ministry were thus employed in the alteration of religion at home, their attention was also claimed by an important negociation abroad. During the last summer the three belligerent powers, England, France, and Spain, alike exhausted by the war, had sent their respective commissioners to the abbey of Cercamp : but the conferences were interrupted by the obstinacy of Philip, who refused to accede to any terms which did not secure to the queen of England the restoration of Calais, and to Philibert of Savoy that of his hereditary dominions. On the death of Mary, the earl of Arundel, leaving his colleagues, the bishop of Ely and Dr. Wotton, at the court of Brussels, returned to England ; and the French king seized the opportunity to open a clandestine correspondence with Elizabeth, through the agency of the lord Grey, a prisoner of war, and of Guido Cavalcanti, a gentleman of Florence. His object was to detach the queen from her confederacy with Philip : but the English ministers, aware that to separate from Spain, would be to throw their mistress on the mercy of France, ordered the lord Howard of Effingham to join the resident ambassadors, and to attend, in conjunction with the Spanish envoys, the new conferences at Cateau 1559 Cambresis. The disputes between Spain and France Feb. were speedily arranged ; and to cement the friendship 7. between the two crowns, it was proposed that Philip should marry the daughter, Philibert the sister of Henry : a proposal to which the Spanish king, after the fruitless offer of his hand to Elizabeth, gave his assent. Faithful, however, to his engagements, the Spanish monarch refused to sign the treaty, till the English cabinet should be satisfied ; and he even offered to continue the

* Strype, i. 139. 178. 240.

war for six years, provided Elizabeth would bind herself not to conclude a separate peace during that period. Cecil and his colleagues found themselves in a most perplexing dilemma. On the one hand, to surrender the claim to Calais would expose them to the hatred of the nation; on the other, the poverty of the exchequer, the want of disciplined troops, and, above all, the unsettled state of religion, forbade them to protract the war. The ambassadors were finally instructed to obtain the best terms in their power, but to conclude a peace, whatever sacrifices it might cost. With the aid of the Spanish negociators, they debated every point, gradually receded from one demand to another, and ultimately subscribed to the conditions dictated by their adversaries *. The restoration of Calais formed the prominent article in the treaty. It was agreed that the most christian king should retain possession during the next eight years; that at the expiration of the term he should restore the town with its dependencies to Elizabeth, under the penalty of 500,000 crowns; and that he should deliver, as security for that sum, the persons of four French noblemen, and the bonds of eight foreign merchants. This article was meant to cover the honour of the queen, and to silence the clamour of the people: whatever expectation it might excite, was extinguished by the following provision, that if Henry, or the king and queen of Scotland, should make any attempt by arms directly or indirectly against the territories or subjects of Elizabeth; or Elizabeth against the territories or subjects of the other contracting parties, the former should from that moment forfeit all right to the retention, the latter, her claim to the restoration of the town †.

* With respect to Calais, the duke of Alva, the chief of the Spanish commissioners, clandestinely favoured the pretensions of the French. He was accused of having been bought by France: but vindicated himself to the satisfaction of Philip, by showing that it was contrary to the joint interest of Spain and Flanders that England should possess complete command of the strait, which she must do, if she possessed Calais as well as Dover. Rustant, *Hist. del Duque de Alva*, i. 85.

† See the whole of the proceedings in Forbes, *State Papers*, i. 1—81.

It was evident that at the expiration of eight years, French ingenuity would easily discover some real or pretended infraction of the treaty, on which the king might ground his refusal to restore the place. This consequence was foreseen by the public; the terms were condemned as prejudicial and disgraceful; and the ministers, to divert the indignation of the people, ordered the lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, and Chamberlayne and Hurlestone, captains of the castle and the Risbank, to be brought to trial on charges of cowardice and treason. The former was acquitted by his peers; April the latter were found guilty and condemned. But the trials had served the purpose of the court; and the sentence was never carried into execution *.

22.
Dec.
20.

During the negociation no mention was made of one cause of offence, which had sunk deeply into the breast of Elizabeth. Ever since her accession she had, as heiress to the rights of her predecessor, styled herself queen of France. The title was ridiculous, inasmuch as by the fundamental laws of that kingdom no female could inherit the crown: but it had previously been adopted by Mary, and was considered the best expedient by which the queen could transmit this ancient but useless bauble to her successors. Henry of France did not complain: but to retaliate, as he pretended, though there can be no doubt that he acted seriously †, he

* On the conclusion of peace, Feria returned to Spain. When he took leave of the queen, she spoke her mind to him freely, but in private, respecting religion: that she wished to establish in the realm something like the confession of Augsburg, that she did not differ much in opinion from the catholics, that she believed the real presence in the sacrament, did not find fault with more than three or four things in the mass, and expected to be saved as well as the bishop of Rome. "Que in muy poco deferia ella de nos otros: porque creia que Dios estaba en el sacramento de la "eucaristia, et que de la missa le descontaban solo tres o quatro cosas: que "ella pensaba salvarse tan bien como el obispo de Roma." Feria to Philip, apud Gonzalez, 22.

† See Noailles, ii. 250. "Yon knowe," said the cardinal of Lorrain, "at that time we were at warre with youe: by meanes whereof we spared "not to do any thing that might toche youe in honour or otherwise," Forbes, i. 340. In the peace which took place was an article saving to all parties their former pretensions; whence it was inferred that Mary was justified in using the same style afterwards. Ibid. 339

caused his daughter-in-law to adopt occasionally the style of queen of England and Ireland. This assumption not only wounded the pride, it alarmed the jealousy of Elizabeth: it proved to her, that in the estimation of Henry she was a bastard; and it taught her to apprehend that, on some future occasion, Mary Stuart might dispute with her the right to the English crown. She had, however, the prudence to suppress her feelings.

April She concluded treaties of peace with Mary and her con-
 2. sort, both at Cateau Cambresis, and at Upsetlington, in
 May Scotland; engaged to afford no aid nor asylum to the
 31. Scottish rebels, and swore on the gospels faithfully to observe these conditions *. But Cecil had at the same time a very different object in contemplation. He knew that the Scottish reformers had taken up arms in opposition to the queen regent, and he resolved to foment their discontent, and to support their rebellion. By enabling them to triumph over the authority of their sovereign, Elizabeth might wrest from the Scottish queen a renunciation of her claim; the French influence in Scotland would be annihilated; the new worship would be established; and the Scottish crown might probably be transferred from the head of Mary to that of a protestant branch of the house of Stuart. In private he carried his views even farther, and revealed to his confidential friends his hope that by the marriage of such new sovereign with the English queen, the two realms might be incorporated into one powerful and protestant kingdom †. In the pursuit of such magnificent objects, it would indeed be necessary to violate the peace which had been so lately ratified, and to aid rebellious subjects against the legitimate authority of their sovereign: but

* Rym. xv. 517. 521.

† That Cecil actually contemplated such events as the result of his policy, and that the Scottish reformers had the same objects in view, is evident from numerous passages in their private correspondence, some of which will be found in the following pages. See Sadler's State Papers, i. 377. 573. 681. Forbes, 147. 435, 436. Elizabeth asserts, in her instructions to lord Shrewsbury, that there had been an intent to deprive Mary of her crown, but that she prevented it. Cotton MSS. Cal. c. ix. 50.

in the political creed of the secretary, the end was held to sanctify the means ; and his conduct during the war of the reformation in Scotland will develop those maxims of state, which during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign prevailed in the English council. Previously, however, it will be necessary to lay before the reader the origin of the contest between the Scottish lords and their sovereign.

Of all the European churches there was perhaps not one better prepared to receive the seed of the new gospel than that of Scotland. During a long course of years the highest dignities had, with few exceptions, been possessed by the illegitimate* or younger sons of the most powerful families, men who, without learning or morality themselves, paid little attention to the learning or morality of their inferiors. The pride of the clergy, their negligence in the discharge of their functions, and the rigour with which they exacted their dues, had become favourite subjects of popular censure ; and when the new preachers appeared, they dexterously availed themselves of the humour of the time, and seasoned their discourses against the doctrines, with invectives against the vices, of the churchmen. Both the prelates, and the earl of Arran, the governor of the kingdom, were alarmed. The former assembled in convocation, and enacted several **canons**, which had for their object to regulate the morals of the clergy, to enforce the duty of public instruction, and to repress abuses in the collection of the clerical dues†. Arran, in two successive parliaments, revived the old statutes against the teachers

* James V. had provided for his illegitimate children by making them abbots and priors of Holyrood house, Kelso, Melrose, Coldingham, and St. Andrew's. It may be proper to observe, that these commendatory abbots and priors received the income, but interfered not with the domestic economy of the monastery. Though they seldom took orders, they ranked as clergymen, and by their vices continued to throw an odium on the profession. They became, however, converts to the new doctrines ; and thus contrived to secure the lands of their benefices, or an equivalent, to themselves and their posterity.

† Wilkins, Con. iv. 46, 47. c. 9. 72. 73.

of heretical doctrines, and strengthened them with the
 1554 addition of new penalties *. But the transfer of the re-
 Avr. gency from Arran to the queen-mother allowed the
 12. reformers time to breathe. During the struggle the
 lords, by whom they were favoured, had attached them-
 selves to her interests; and they now expected forbear-
 ance, if not protection, from her gratitude. The number
 of the missionaries was increased by the arrival of se-
 veral preachers, who fled from the persecution in Eng-
 1555 land; and the return of John Knox from Geneva gave
 a new impulse to their zeal. The enthusiasm of this
 apostle, the severity of his manner, his rude but com-
 manding eloquence, soon raised him to a high pre-emi-
 nence above his fellows. At his suggestion, the chief of
 the converts assembled in Mearns, and subscribed a
 covenant, by which they bound themselves to renounce
 for ever the communion of the established church, and
 to maintain what they held to be the true doctrine of
 the gospel. But his boldness was met with threats of
 vengeance; and preferring the duty of watching over
 1556 the infant church to the glory of martyrdom, he hastened
 July. back to Geneva, whence by letters he supplied the neo-
 phytes with ghostly counsel, resolving their doubts,
 chastising their timidity, and inflaming their zeal. One
 thing he most earnestly inculcated, the distinction be-
 tween civil and religious obedience. The former was
 due to the civil magistrate, the latter to God alone:
 whence he drew this important inference, that, in defi-
 ance of the legislature and the sovereign, it was their
 duty to extirpate idolatry wherever they found it, to es-
 tablish the gospel, and in defence of their proceedings
 to oppose force to force †. This doctrine, the parent of

* Black Acts, 147. 151. 152. 154.

† Strype, 119. "Whilk thing, efter all humill requist, yf ye can not
 "atteane, then with oppin and solemp protestation of your obedience to
 "be given to the authority in all thingis not planelie repugnyng to God,
 "ye lawfullie may attempt the extremitie, whilk is to provyd (whidder the
 "autoritie will consent or no,) that Chrystis evangell may be trewlie
 "preachit, and his holie sacramentis rychtly ministerit unto you, and to
 "your brethren the subjectis of that realme. And farder ye lawfullie

sedition and civil war, was gratefully received, and practically adopted. The proselytes, inflamed by the lessons of their teacher, and the scriptural denunciations against idolatry, abolished, wherever they had power, the worship established by law, expelled the clergy, dissolved the monasteries, and gave the ornaments of the churches, often the churches themselves, to the flames*.

It was with pain that the queen regent viewed these illegal proceedings. But she dared not oppose or punish at a time when the approaching marriage of her daughter to the dauphin of France admonished her to win by condescension, rather than alienate by severity. Her efforts were successful; both parties joined in gratifying her wishes; and the estates not only consented to the marriage, but named a deputation to assist at the ceremony†. Mary Stuart had just completed her fifteenth year. She was married to Francis, a prince of nearly the same age, in the cathedral of Paris; he was immediately saluted by his consort with the title of king-dauphin; and to cement the union of the two nations, the natives of each were by legislative acts naturalized in the other‡.

* may, ye, and thairto is bound, to defend your brethren from persecutioun "and tiranny, be it agains princes or emporioris to the uttermost of your power." Letter of Knox apud M'Crie, notes, p. 461.

† It is not true, that the burning of churches, &c., was begun by Knox at Perth. These excesses are mentioned thrice in the proceedings of the council held in Edinburgh, which was dissolved before the arrival of Knox in Scotland. Wilk. Con. iv. 208, 209, 211.

‡ Of the eight deputies four died before their return. The fact was, that numbers in England, France, and Scotland were carried off this year by a pestilential fever. By the discontented in Scotland, however, the death of the deputies was attributed to poison. One of them, the prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards earl of Murray, had the good fortune to escape through the ingenuity of his physicians, who, if we may believe Fitzscottie, hung him up by the heels to let the poison drop out of his mouth! See Goodall, 154.

† Keith, 74, 75. Leslie, 492. Spottis, 95. A few days before the marriage the chancellor of France laid before Mary three deeds for execution. By the first she was made to bequeath, in failure of heirs of her body, her right to the crown of Scotland, and all other her contingent rights, even that to the crown of England, to the king of France and his successors. This was called *donatis causâ mortis*. By the second she bequeathed the succession to the Scottish crown to the king of France, until he should have indemnified himself for the charges incurred by France in protecting Scotland from its ancient enemies the English. The third was a formal protest against any consent which circumstances might compel her to give to a late act of the Scottish parliament regulating the succession to the Scottish crown. On April 4 Mary formally executed these two deeds, and the first two were accepted by

It was plain, (nor had it escaped the notice and censure of Knox,) that the reformers, by consenting to the union of their youthful sovereign with the heir apparent of the French monarchy, would yield a considerable advantage to the catholics; and therefore to compound the matter with their consciences, they had, previously to the opening of the parliament, entered into a new religious covenant. The subscribers, with the earls of Dec. Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn at their head, assuming
3. the title of "the congregation of the Lord," bound themselves to strive to the death in the cause of their master, to procure and maintain faithful ministers of the gospel, to defend them, the whole congregation, and every member thereof, to the whole of their power, and at the hazard of their lives; to forsake the congregation of Satan (the established church); and to declare themselves manifest enemies to it, to its abominations, and to its idolatry*.

When the purport of this covenant became known, it was considered by the opposite party as a declaration of war. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, as if he sought to probe the sincerity of the subscribers, urged the execution of the laws made or revived under the administration of his brother, the late governor; and Walter 1558. Apr. Milne, originally a friar, but for many years a preacher of the new doctrines, suffered at the stake. His fate, instead of intimidating, aroused the zeal of the reformers. They rose in their demands; their opponents were equally importunate; and all the efforts of the regent to pacify and conciliate the two parties proved ineffect-
1559. ual. At her request the archbishop had convened a national council, by which the canons lately made were
6. confirmed, and an abstract of doctrine was published in explanation of the tenets misrepresented by the missionaries†. But the lords of the congregation did not

the chancellor in the name of the French king. The dauphin added his signature to the last. By Goodall (p. 159) these instruments are pronounced forgeries, but they exist in the *Trésor des Chartes*, and have been published by Prince Labanoff in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, i. 50—56.

* Keith, 66. Knox, 98—100.

† It teaches that it is lawful to beg of the saints their prayers in favour

wait for the result of the council. They established the new service in Perth *; and the queen immediately summoned three of the preachers to answer before her and the council at Stirling for this violation of the law. The reformers hastened to the support of their teachers: Erskine, of Dun, negotiated a second time between the opposite parties; and the regent, if we may believe some, promised, according to others, refused, to stay all legal proceedings. The appointed day came: the persons summoned did not appear; and according to the forms of the Scottish judicature they were pronounced rebels, with the usual denunciation of punishment against all their aiders and abettors †.

Knox had long ago left Geneva, but had been detained six weeks at Dieppe, by a fruitless attempt to procure from Elizabeth a license to travel through her dominions. He, however, reached Perth a few days before judgment was pronounced against the preachers. When the intelligence arrived, he hastened to the pulpit; the indignation which glowed in his breast was soon communicated to his hearers; and the crowd, maddened by his invectives, defaced the ornaments of the church, demolished the magnificent fabric of the charter house, with several other convents, and threw into the flames whatever had been contaminated in their

of sinners, and to keep the images of Christ and his saints as representations of them, and inducements to the imitation of their virtues; that there is a purgatory after the present life, in which is suffered the punishment yet due to sin; that in the eucharist is the true body and blood of Christ; that communion under both kinds is unnecessary; and that the sacrifice of the mass, established in remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, availeth through the merit of those sufferings, both the living and the dead. Wilk. Con. iv. 213.

* That the Scottish reformers used a written form of worship at first, is certain. (Knox, Hist. 101.) The only dispute is, whether it were the form used by the exiles at Geneva, or the liturgy of Edward VI. If the former, as is often maintained, they must have occasionally exchanged it for the latter, perhaps to please Elizabeth: for Cecil writes, July 9, 1559, "they have received the service of the church of England, according to king Edward's booke." Forbes, i. 155.

† Knox, 127. Leslie, 505. Spottis. 121. Balfour, i. 314. According to most of the reformed writers the queen regent in all these proceedings is charged with dissimulation and falsehood, but it should be remembered that the charge proceeds from those who found it necessary to justify their own violence and rebellion.

eyes by its use in the established worship*. In the language of the saints, Perth was said to be "reformed."

The regent, accompanied by the earl of Arran, who had assumed the French title of duke of Chastelherault, and the earl of Huntley, advanced towards Perth; and
 May 18. the congregationists assembled in force to oppose her progress. No blood was shed. As often as the armies met in the field, they were separated by a temporary suspension of hostilities. Projects of pacification were repeatedly proposed, adopted, broken, and renewed. But on every occasion the advantage was on the part of the congregationists. Their zeal refused to be bound by any compact which might interfere with their consciences; wherever they came, they resumed their missionary labours, with the gospel in one hand, and the firebrand in the other†; the venerable cathedral of
 June 29. St. Andrew's was demolished; and Crail, Anstruther, Scone, Stirling, Cambuskenneth, and Linlithgow, were purged from the pollutions of popery. As they advanced, the capital opened its gates; the regent sought an asylum in the castle of Dunbar; and the cause of the royalists appeared desperate. But Scottish warfare was always marked with sudden alternations of misfortune and success. The adherents of the opposite parties generally acted independently of their chiefs; they joined or abandoned the army at their pleasure; and it often happened that those who to-day could boast of a decided superiority were compelled on the morrow to flee with diminished forces before a more powerful ad-

* This was not the first tumult excited by Knox. Cecil says, that "the first beginning of the innovation was at Donfrese, where Knoxe and others began to preche, and the religious persons left there habites, both there and at Johnstowne" (Perth). Forbes, 131. June 13.

† "At length," says Knox, in a letter to Mrs. Anne Locke, "they were content to take assurance for eight days, permitting unto us freedom of religion in the mean time. In the whilk the abbay of Lindores, a place of black monkes, distant from St. Andrewis twelve miles, we reformed; their altars overthrow we, their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and mass books we burnt in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits." June 23, 1559. Apud M'Crie, 345. This was what he interpreted to be freedom of religion!

versary. So it was on the present occasion. For some days the war was carried on by adverse proclamations, in which the queen had the advantage by detailing the excesses of her opponents, who had demolished the churches of the capital, burst by open force into the palace of Holyrood house, and carried away the bullion from the mint. Insensibly their numerous force dwindled away, while that of the regent increased; she hastily marched towards Edinburgh; "the saints" trembled before the congregation of Satan; a capitulation was signed; and Edinburgh was again occupied by the royalists. But the reformers, before their departure, published a false representation of the articles, calculated to keep alive the hopes and the violence of their disciples, by assuring them of freedom from molestation on the part of the government, but concealing from their notice the engagement that they themselves should also refrain from all those excesses against the churches and churchmen, which they had hitherto practised*.

July
24.
25.
26.

There was in these proceedings of the Scots as much perhaps of worldly policy as of religious fanaticism. While Knox animated the zealots with promises of supernatural aid, Cecil had kept alive the hopes of the more cautious with the prospect of support from the English queen. Their first proceedings had answered his expectations: but their subsequent retreat from the capital, and the military preparations on the coast of France, convinced him, that they must make their peace

* Knox, 153. Leslie, 510. About this time, July 10, died Henry, king of France. The reader may peruse in Robertson's History of Scotland an elaborate statement of the conciliatory measures which he ascribes to that monarch, but which, he pretends, were exchanged after his death for others of a more hostile description by the ambition of the princes of Lorraine, such as the expedition under Elbœuf, and the attempted arrest of the earl of Arran, that by sending so illustrious a victim to the stake, they might strike terror into the minds of the reformers. Unfortunately the whole system is overturned by the despatches of Throckmorton; from which we learn that the expedition was prepared, and the arrest attempted by the orders of Henry himself, at the very time when Robertson represents the influence of the house of Guise as reduced to the lowest ebb. Forbes, 97. 101. 118. 144. 148, 149.

with Mary, unless they were powerfully supported by Elizabeth. He applied to her in their favour, and to his surprise and distress found her irresolute. The queen hated the principles of Knox, and the fanaticism of his disciples*; she deemed it unworthy of a crowned head to foment rebellion among the subjects of a neighbouring and friendly sovereign; and she respected the oaths which she had so recently taken, to preserve the peace with the queen of Scots, and to refuse an asylum to all Scottish rebels and traitors. But the sophistry of Cecil Aug 5 had prepared answers to every objection. The queen of England had, he maintained, a better right to the superiority over Scotland, than Mary had to the possession of the Scottish crown; it was not a question between subjects and their natural prince, in which a foreign power had no right to interfere, but between vassals and the mesne lord, in which the superior was bound in honour and conscience to defend the liberties of the former against the tyranny of the latter. In the present case, however, self-preservation, a principle paramount to every other motive, concurred with the duty of Elizabeth. The French king looked on the queen as illegitimate, and esteemed his own wife the rightful heir to the English crown. Were he permitted to retain a footing in Scotland, Elizabeth could never enjoy security. Were he expelled by her aid, she would attach the Scots to her interests, and might despise the efforts of her enemies†. This appeal to her apprehensions and jealousy, extorted from the queen a reluctant and qualified assent. To deceive the public, the earl of Northumberland, sir James Sadler, and sir James Croft, were appointed to reform the disorders in the Scottish

* See note (H) at the end.

† Though this may have been the first time that Elizabeth was urged to support the Scots, the connexion between her ministers and the insurgents was so well known, that even in May and June we find Throckmorton mentioning "the queen's service in Scotland," and recommending persons, "as fit to serve the queen's turn in Scotland." Forbes, 101. 119. 147. 149.

marches. But the religion of Northumberland, who was a catholic, rendered him unfit to be intrusted with the real object of the commission. His colleagues alone were admitted into the secret. They received instructions to urge the Scots to the resumption of hostilities ; to supply them with money, to promise them every kind of aid, which could be furnished without a manifest breach of the peace between the two queens, and to induce them, if it were possible, to depose Mary, and transfer the crown to the house of Hamilton *. The duke of Chastelherault, indeed, the head of that house, had hitherto been faithful to the cause of his sovereign ; but his weakness, inconstancy, and ambition were well known : there could be no doubt that his allegiance would yield to the temptation of a crown for his descendants ; and with that view it was resolved to hasten the return to Scotland of his eldest son, now called the earl of Arran.

Arran, who had lately imbibed the new doctrines, served in the French army as colonel of the Scottish guards, and, in that capacity was considered an honourable hostage of the loyalty of his father. Henry II. had May summoned him to attend his duty at the intended marriages of the French princesses to the king of Spain, and 30

* Sadler, i. 337—411. The most singular of these documents is one written by Cecil, as a " memorial of certain points meet for the restoring of the realm of Scotland to the ancient weale." If Mary refuses certain demands which he specifies, the lords ought to commit the government to the next heir : and if she objects to that, " as it is likely she will, " then it is apparent that almighty God is pleased to transfer from her the rule of the kingdom for the weale of it." He next observes, " that, when " Scotland is once made free, means may be devised through God's goodness to accord the two realms to endure for time to come." Sadler, i. 375—377. From this paper, dated August 5, it appears that he preferred the Hamiltons to the lord James. The same is more evident from the instructions given to Sadler. " You shall do well to explore the very truth, " whether the lord James do mean any enterprise towards the crown of " Scotland ; and if he do, and the duke be found very cold in his own " cause, it shall not be amiss to let the lord James follow his own desire " therein, without dissuading or persuading him any therein." *Apud Chalmers*, ii. 410. Throckmorton had written to Cecil on the 27th of July, " that there was a party in Scotland for the placing of that nobleman in " the state of Scotland, and that he himself did, by all the secret means he " could, aspire thereunto." *Forbes*, i. 180.

the duke of Savoy : but Arran, having sent an apology for his absence, suddenly disappeared, at the suggestion, it was believed, and with the aid of Throckmorton, the English ambassador*. It was in vain that the police endeavoured to trace the footsteps of the fugitive ; Throckmorton's agents accompanied or followed him to Geneva, whence he wrote a letter expressive of his gratitude to the queen of England †. From Geneva he came in great privacy to London, was admitted to a secret interview with Elizabeth, and to several conferences with Cecil, and then continued his journey in disguise, under the assumed name of Beaufort, till, with the assistance of Sadler and Croft, he reached his father's castle of Hamilton.

July 6.
Aug 31.
Sept. 11.

Previously to his arrival, the English commissioners had successfully laboured to rekindle the flames of civil war. They had represented to the lords of the congregation the justice of their cause, which had for its object, "to extirpe idolatrie, and delyuer their country from "foreign government ;" the advantage they might derive from the willingness of the queen of England to afford them assistance ; and the folly of postponing the attempt, till the regent should have acquired a decided superiority by the aid of her brothers of the house of Guise. At the same time the report, that it was intended to annex Scotland as a province to France, made a deep impression on the public mind ; a promise of neutrality

* This suspicion seems to have been well founded. Throckmorton repeatedly mentions it, but never so much as hints that it is false. Forbes, i. 136. 164. Robertson, from De Thou, says it was intended to charge Arran with heresy : but the ambassador, though he speaks of the flight and pursuit of the earl on twelve different occasions, never once alludes to any such intention, but rather to a charge of treason, 148. 217.

† Elizabeth was highly displeased. "It seemeth," she says, "very strange that the earl of Arran maketh mention in his letters, that he hath cause to thank us for the offers made to hym by us. We be in doubt what to thynke ; and do much mislyke that any such occasion should be gyven by any manner of message done to hym." Forbes, i. 167. The indiscreet gratitude of the earl had nearly revealed to the queen the secret and unauthorized practices of her secretary. But what were these offers ? If we may believe Persons (and the queen's words seem to support his assertion), that, in the event of success in the war against the queen regent, Elizabeth would marry Arran. Philopater, p. 90.

was obtained from the duke of Chastelherault; and several catholic lords engaged to draw their swords in defence of the liberties of their country. A resolution was now taken to rise in arms, and to justify the measure by charging the regent with two breaches of the capitulation of Edinburgh: 1^o. by having ordered mass to be celebrated in Holyrood house; and 2^o. by having received reinforcements from France. At this moment, Arran, whose arrival had been hitherto concealed, made himself known. He was received with honours not due to a subject. His unexpected appearance, the report that he was the destined husband of the queen of England, and the seasonable distribution of two thousand pounds, advanced by Sadler, elevated the hopes of the associated lords. On the other hand, the queen regent assumed a tone of confidence and superiority. She offered peace, on the basis of real liberty of conscience, and summoned her opponents to meet La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens, who had been furnished with full powers for that purpose*. But at the same time she informed them of her resolution and ability to maintain the rights of her daughter, ordered the town and harbour of Leith to be fortified, and boasted of the veterans who had lately arrived under Octaviano, a Milanese adventurer, and of the still more numerous force which she expected under her brother, the marquess d'Elbœuf. Her offer was, however, rejected: the duke openly joined the congregation; and the abbeys of Paislow, Kilwinning, and Dunfermlin, were dissolved. But the impatience of Sadler and Croft wished for open hostilities. They com-

* La Brosse brought with him 2000 men: Pelvé was the name of the bishop. They were sent as advisers to the regent, who was ordered to follow their counsels. Hitherto she had been advised by D'Oyselles and Mailand. D'Aubigné, i. 121. The object of their mission is thus explained by the cardinal of Lorrain. "They," the congregationists, "went about of their own authority to alter religion, which being advertised by the queen regent, commissions were sent to have the matter come to debating and deciding; because we were desirous to stay the matter without rigour. But they not only neglected to come to reason, but refused to intend to the commission." Forbes, i. 336. The offers of the queen, and the refusal of the lords, are mentioned in Sadler. i. 501, 509.

plained of the sluggishness of their confederates; and Knox, to aid their efforts, forged a letter from France to the lord James, prior of St. Andrew's, painting in the most vivid colours the danger of further procrastination*. At length the insurgents moved in considerable Oct. force towards Edinburgh, while the royalists retired 18. within their intrenchments at Leith. In the capital two councils were formed, the one under the presidency of Chastelherault, for the despatch of political business, the other under that of Knox, for the regulation of spiritual concerns. The first pronounced it expedient, the second lawful, to take from the regent the exercise of her authority; her deprivation was proclaimed by sound of trumpet; and she herself, as well as her aiders and abettors, were declared enemies to the country. This was the first step towards the accomplishment of the plan devised by Cecil; the second, if no reverse had followed, would have been to disown the authority of the sovereign †.

The queen regent was still supported by the earl of Huntley, lord chancellor, by the earls Marischal and Bothwell, and by most of the bishops. Her force amounted to between two and three thousand veterans, Scots and Frenchmen, whose superior discipline and experience rendered them more than a match for the bravery and enthusiasm of the ten thousand men, led by the chiefs of the congregation, the duke, the lord James, and the earls of Arran, Glencairn, Cassilis,

* At least Randall, the English agent in Scotland, believed it a forgery "which I geese to savor to muche of Knox stile to come from Fraunce, though it will serve to good purpose." Sadler, i. 499. The prior of St. Andrew's was James Stewart, a bastard son of James V., by Margaret Erskine. He became an early proselyte to the reformed doctrines, and was created earl of Murray in 1562.

† If the reader turn back to note *, p. 277, he will see how exactly the insurgents had followed the directions of the English secretary. It appears from Knox, that they intended to follow them to the end. He thus writes to Raibton, one of the agents of the secretary: "She is deprived of all authoritie and regiment among us.—The authoritie of the French king and queene is yet receaved, and wilbe *in wourde*, till thee deny our most just requestes, which ye shall, God willing, schortlie hereafter onder stand." Oct. 30. Sadler, i. 680.

Monteith, and Eglinton. In an attack on the intrenchments at Leith, the latter were repulsed with some loss. Instead of condoling, Sadler and Croft rejoiced at their misfortune. "The affray," they exclaimed, "is begun: blood has at last flowed, and it will be long before it can be stanchèd*." But in Knox and Cecil it created a well-founded doubt of the ultimate result. Knox, in the most urgent terms, demanded the aid of two thousand English troops; and, anticipating the objection which might be drawn from the existence of peace between the two crowns, suggested that they should serve as volunteers, in apparent opposition to the will of their sovereign, and under a sentence of outlawry and treason†. But Cecil, though he knew that "the Scots could clyme no walls‡," dared not recommend so hypocritical a measure. He served a mistress, who to use his son's expression, "if to-day she was more than man, would to-morrow be less than woman§." Elizabeth was imperious, but inconstant; jealous of her own safety, but also jealous of her reputation; willing to injure, by every means in her power, a rival queen, but unwilling to be considered by the world as the abettor of insurrection and treason, and that too against a sovereign with whom she had just ratified for the second time a treaty of friendship, and reciprocal assistance||. Hitherto indeed, she had been induced to approve of his connexion with the Scots: but it had required all the arts of the minister, all the intrigues of his confidential friends, to keep her steady to his purpose. Among these friends, the most useful was Throckmorton, the ambassador in France, who by transmitting reports often apocryphal¶, almost always exaggerated, and by

Oct,
25.

* Sadler, 514. † Keith, App. 40. Cecil observes, with respect to this or some similar demand of Knox: "Surelie I lyke not Knoxees audacitie, which also was well tamed in your answer. His writings doo no good here: and therefore I doo rather suppress them: and yet I mean not but that ye shuld contynue in sendyng them." Sadler, i. 535. ‡ Ibid. 514.

§ Nuge Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 345. || Rym. xv. 513. Crawford's pap. i. 144.

¶ One of the reports which made great impression was, that a great seal for Scotland had been sent thither, quartering the arms of France, England, and Scotland, with the style of Francis and Mary, king and queen of France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is, however, plain, from his letters, that he had no certain knowledge that such was the fact. Forbes, 229. 252.

- suggesting as from himself to Cecil that advice, which Cecil dared not openly tender to the queen, had succeeded in confirming her jealousy, and keeping alive her apprehensions. Now he solicited and obtained the Sept. permission to return home, ostensibly to visit his wife, 24. who lay dangerously ill, in reality to communicate to his Oct. sovereign secrets, which he dared not commit to paper. 11. What these secrets were, we shall afterwards learn. The result of his representations was, that the queen, on the ground "that it was true, that whensoever the " French should make an end with Scotland, they would Nov. " begin with England," authorized Cecil to aid the lords 12. of the congregation with advice and money. For his greater security, she signed the warrant; and the few counsellors, who were in the secret, witnessed her signature*.

- The next post, however, brought the most perplexing 6. intelligence. The Scots had attacked the enemy near Restalrig. They were received with equal courage and superior skill; and after a sharp skirmish, had fled into the city. Though their loss did not exceed a hundred men; though Knox had summoned them to the church, to hear the "promises of God;" though the royalists had returned to their intrenchments at Leith; yet a sudden panic diffused itself through the capital: the pulpit of the apostle was deserted; the leaders shared in the consternation with their followers; and before midnight the road to Linlithgow was covered with fugitives of every description. The darkness added to their terrors; they persuaded themselves that the French gens d'arms were pursuing at their heels; nor did they

* The witnesses were the earl of Pembroke, lord Clinton, lord Howard of Effingham, Parry, Cecil, Petre. Sadler, i. 566—573, and Wotton, *ibid*, note. Sadler had informed Cecil that the earl of Bothwell, the sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, had seized and carried off 1000*l*. which he had sent to the lords of the congregation, an offence which was never forgiven by his enemies. The secretary, aware of the parsimony of the queen, was careful to conceal the fact from her till she had signed the warrant. "Nevertheless," he adds, "hyr majestie shall knowe of the loss to-morrow, though it will be to some." *Ibid*.

slacken their speed till they had reached Stirling, a Nov. distance of thirty miles. Both saints and warriors were 7. overwhelmed with shame and despondency: but Knox displayed his wonted confidence, and resumed the sermon which had been interrupted by their flight from Edinburgh. Why, he asked, had the army of God quailed before the uncircumcised Philistines? It was on account of their sins; of the ambition of this chieftain, of the avarice of another, of the lewdness of a third, and of the presumption and pusillanimity of all. But let them only turn to the Lord; let them acknowledge their sinfulness and insufficiency; and the tribes of Israel would again prevail over the recreant Benjamites; the eternal truth of the eternal God would triumph over the efforts of idolatry and superstition. His eloquence rekindled the fanaticism and the hopes of his hearers; and the lords, though from the highest to the lowest they had individually smarted under the lash of his invective, tolerated the boldness of the apostle for the benefit of that influence which he exercised over their followers*.

This intelligence, though it checked the exultation, invigorated the efforts, of Cecil. After a struggle of two days his influence in the English cabinet prevailed. 14. The Scots were urged to proceed with their enterprise; they received promises of money to pay, and of officers to discipline, their forces; and were assured that a fleet should be equipped to intercept all communication between Leith and France, and that an army should be stationed on the borders, to avail itself of the first favourable opportunity to espouse their cause. In return it was required that they should send to London an accredited agent with a petition for support, that the queen might afterwards have some instrument to produce in 19.

* Knox, *Historie*, 194—197. Sadler, i. 554. 563. Randall complains greatly of the lords: "Syns the taking of the money, and the commying of the Frenchmen to the gates of Edinburgh, I have found the most parte of our nobles and others such, as I knowe not whome woorthilie to commend." *Ibid.*

justification of her conduct*. The person chosen for this office was the younger Maitland, of Lethington, a statesman of great abilities, who had been secretary to the queen regent, but lately deserting to the congregationists, had betrayed to them the secrets of his mistress. Maitland came clandestinely to London, presented to Elizabeth a petition, which had been previously composed by Cecil and approved by herself†, and, when she asked him for a pledge of the fidelity of his employers, offered her the selection of six out of twelve hostages, the children of the first families in Scotland.

It chanced that one morning, at an early hour, Maitland was seen to enter the lodgings of Throckmorton.

- Dec. 20. The circumstance awakened the suspicion of Gilles de Noailles, the French ambassador, who immediately demanded, both from the queen and from the council, an explanation of the warlike preparations in the river and in the northern counties. Elizabeth assured him of her determination to maintain the peace of Cateau; and as a proof of her sincerity, wished that the curse of Heaven might light on the head of that prince, who should be the first to violate it. The council replied,

* Sadler, i. 574—578. 581. 602.

† Sadler, i. 569. 603.—Several writers have given Maitland credit for the ability displayed in this paper. They little knew that it was in reality the composition of Cecil. This minister having communicated it to the queen, sent it to Sadler, with instructions to conceal the real author, and to induce the Scots, “by practice,” to adopt it for their own. Aware, however, that Sadler might find it difficult to reconcile those passages which contained protestations of allegiance to Mary, with the known intention of the parties to deprive her of the crown, he observes, “The allowance of ther duties to the quen is here thought necessary both for contentation of the world, and for the honour of the queene’s majesty; and therefore, whatsoever the Scots may be compelled to do hereafter in that behalf, this seemeth very probable for the present.” Ibid. 573. Sadler now began “to practice.” He wrote a copy and showed it to Maitland as his own composition, when that envoy passed through Berwick on his way to London. He was induced to write it, he said, by his desire to aid the lords; and as he was well acquainted with the disposition of Elizabeth, he had hastily thrown together such arguments as he knew would make impresson on her mind. Maitland, whether he suspected the artifice or not, admired the new petition, acknowledged that it was preferable to that which he had brought with him, sent it to the lords for signature, and afterwards presented it to the queen. Ibid. 603. Of this paper she afterwards made great use in her correspondence with the king of Spain, and probably with other powers.

that Francis and-Mary, by assuming the style and arms of England, had furnished ample ground for apprehension; and that while the French monarch continued to recruit his forces, both at home and in Scotland, they should be wanting in their duty, if they did not advise the queen to prepare for the defence of her own dominions. Noailles, however, was not deceived. He denounced the hostile intention of the English cabinet to his sovereign, and to the queen regent of Scotland*.

The associated lords, encouraged by the sermons of Knox, and the assurances of Cecil, had called a general meeting at Stirling. But Stirling was suddenly taken by a detachment from the garrison of Leith. Thence Dec. the royalists penetrated into Fifeshire, burning the 27. houses, and ravaging the lands of their adversaries. The flames spread to Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and Dysart. 1560. Arran and the lord James were compelled to shrink Jan. from the approach of a superior enemy; and the repeated 8. promises of succour from England, by daily adding to their disappointment, added to their distress. At length the royalists, followed at a distance by Arran, directed their march to St. Andrew's; and were winding round the promontory of Kingcraig, when a fleet in the offing 23. was described advancing with crowded sails towards the shore. The two armies immediately halted: every eye was fixed on the sight; the Scots hailed the promised succours from England; their adversaries flattered themselves with the long expected arrival of D'Elbœuf from France. In a short time the nearest ships displayed the English colours; three small vessels belonging to the regent were captured; and the guns of the fleet were pointed against the royalists. The latter immediately began to retrace their steps; and it is a proof of their superior discipline that, during a circuitous retreat of

* Forbes, 284. Haynes, i. 213.

six days through a hostile country, they suffered but inconsiderable loss*.

Notwithstanding this act of hostility, Elizabeth affected great anxiety for the preservation of peace; and the task of vindicating the conduct of Winter, the English admiral, devolved on the duke of Norfolk, who now resided on the borders with the title of the queen's lieutenant in the north. Though Winter had sailed from the river for the express purpose of aiding the Scots†, and had taken on board six hundred arquebusiers, to be opposed to the regular troops of the royalists; yet it was pretended that he had no other object than to convoy a fleet of victuallers to Berwick; that the violence of the weather had driven him into the Frith; and that the jealousy or the mistake of the French commanders who fired on him from the batteries at Leith, Brunt-island, and Inchkeith, had compelled him to make reprisals in his own defence. This specious, but unfounded tale, was even embodied into an official despatch, Jan. and authenticated by the signatures of the duke and his 26. council‡. But Noailles was too well informed of the real fact; he exclaimed against so impudent a falsehood; and extorted from Cecil, after many delays and evasions, a commission to inquire into the conduct of Winter§. The French court, however, thought it more

* Sadler, i. 665—671. 674—679. 692.—695. 690—703.

† For Winter's instructions, see Chalmers, 28.

‡ The signatures are of Tho. Norfolk, H. Westmorland, W. Dacre, T. Wharton, Raff. Sadleyr, F. Lecke. Haynes, i. 231. In a private letter the duke acknowledges that the earl of Westmorland, and the lords Wharton and Dacre were not in the secret, but supposed the account to be true. Ibid. 233.

§ This commission is directed to the duke of Norfolk, and expresses the queen's persuasion that Winter "would not commit any thing that should be any breach of the peace." Ibid. 258. Throckmorton, on his return to France, acted with equal deceit. When the cardinal of Lorraine complained of Winter's conduct, "I pretended ignorance, and said that if "Mr. Winter did contrary to th'amitie, he might be assured, it was without your majestie's commandement." Forbes, i. 335. Cecil, in a memorial to the king of Spain, has recourse to a different falsehood. He thus accounts for the expedition under Winter, and the army formed under the duke of Norfolk: "Ut verum fateamur (omnesque qui huc sunt norunt

dignified to be content with this appearance of justice, than to demand, without being able to enforce, satisfaction: the inquiry was dropped; the English fleet continued to ride triumphant in the Frith, and in the next Feb. month a treaty was concluded between the duke of Norfolk and the lords, by which the queen bound herself to aid the Scots with an army for the expulsion of the French force*.

The queen had been drawn into the contest step by step against her own judgment and inclination. At first she consented only to furnish money; then her fleet was sent into the Frith, but ostensibly for a legitimate purpose; next we shall see her condescending to that, from which her pride had hitherto recoiled, and concluding a formal treaty with the subjects of another sovereign. The principal inducement was her knowledge of the projects cherished by the factious in France. Scarcely was the corpse of Henry II. laid in the grave, when Cecil undertook to excite in that country dissensions similar to those, which he had fomented in Scotland, by arming the princes of the blood, and the reformers, against their new monarch, Francis II. By his instructions Throckmorton solicited a private interview with Antoine de Bourbon, the titular king of Navarre, who was known to favour the reformed doctrines. They met in the town of St. Denis at the hour of midnight. The ambassador, in general terms, stated to the king "the esteem of the queen for his virtues, her wish to form an alliance with him for the honour of God and the advancement of true religion, and her hope that, by mutually assisting each other, they might prevent their enemies from taking any advantage against God, or his cause, or either of themselves as his

"esse verissimum) nos diu dubitatione aliqua esse occupatos, an hæc discordia in Scotia inter Gallos et Scotos esset ficta, ut sub eo colore haberent in armis justum exercitum, et junctis utrinque copiis irrumperent subito in hoc regnum, et præcipue caperent Berwicum." Forbes, i. 405.

* Keith, 117.

"ministers." Though Antoine understood the object of this hypocritical cant, he answered with caution: that he should be happy to have so illustrious an ally in so sacred a cause, but that for greater security he would correspond directly with the queen herself*. In a few days the young king intrusted to the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, the uncles of his queen, the chief offices in the government. The ambition of the princes of the blood was disappointed; and Antoine, king of Navarre, and Louis, prince of Condé, Bourbons of the house of Vendôme, formed an association with Coligny admiral of France, d'Andelot, colonel of the French infantry, and the cardinal of Châtillon, three nephews of the constable Montmorency. Together they could command the services of about three thousand men of family, and of the whole body of reformers in France, to whom they had long been known as friends and protectors. It was to inform the queen of their views and resources, that Throckmorton had come to Dec. England; and he was followed by Renaudie, a gentleman of Périgord, the devoted partisan of the prince of Condé, who, to save the lives of the chiefs in the event of failure, had accepted the dangerous post of appearing at first as the leader of the insurgents. That adventurer soon returned, the bearer from Elizabeth of wishes for their success, and promises of support; Calvin from Geneva sent emissaries and letters to his disciples in France; men were secretly levied among the professors of the new doctrines in every province; and a day was appointed when they should rendezvous in the vicinity of the court, surprise the king and queen, the cardinal and the duke of Guise, and place the government in the hands of the princes of the blood†. It was at this

* Forbes, i. 174. 212.

† In the council held at La Ferté it was deliberated whether they should entirely rid themselves of the royal family and the Guises; but the majority decided that assassination would throw too much discredit on the party, and rouse all France against them. Capéfigue, ii. 107. He quotes Brulart's journal. Vie de Coligny, 20. De Thou, i. xxiv. Mathieu, i. iv. p. 213. Le Laboureur, i. 512.

moment that the duke of Norfolk received orders to conclude a treaty with the Scottish lords at Berwick. Though the French ambassadors offered to withdraw their forces from Scotland, with the exception of a few companies, and to refer the matters in dispute between the insurgents and their sovereign to the arbitration of Elizabeth herself, the duke was ordered to proceed; and Feb. it was stipulated that the queen should maintain an 27. English army in Scotland till the French were expelled from that kingdom; and that the Scots should never consent to the union of their crown with that of France, should aid Elizabeth with four thousand men in the case of invasion, and should give her hostages for their fidelity to these engagements*.

In a few days the conspiracy in France burst forth, but was defeated at Amboise by the vigilance and vigour of the duke of Guise. Condé and Coligny, to escape suspicion, fought against their own party; Renaudie perished in the conflict, and most of the other leaders were taken and executed. At this intelligence Elizabeth began to waver; and her hesitation was kept alive by the arrival of Montluc, the French ambassador; but Throckmorton urged her not to forfeit the golden opportunity offered by the prospect of a civil war in France; and the lords of the council solicited per-^{Mar} mission to commence hostilities on the following grounds: 23. because it was just to repel danger, honourable to relieve the oppressed, necessary to prevent the union of Scotland with France, and profitable to risk a small sum for the attainment of that, which afterwards must cost a greater price†. The day after the presentation of this memorial appeared a most extraordinary state paper, entitled a declaration of peace, but intended as a justification of war. It made a distinction between the French king and queen and their ministers. The former were the friends of Elizabeth, who strictly forbade any injury to be offered to their subjects; the latter were her

* Haynes, 253.

† Forbes, i. 390—396.

enemies ; and to defeat their ambitious views she had taken up arms, and would not lay them down till she had expelled every French soldier from the realm of Scotland *. The duke of Norfolk, who had collected an army on the borders, committed it to the care of lord Grey ; the Scots and English joined ; and the combined forces sat down before the intrenchments of Leith. But the operations of the siege were paralyzed by the irresolute and contradictory humours of the queen. She wrote to the generals to prefer negociation to arms, rejected a new project of accommodation, permitted the French envoy to treat with the Scottish lords, ordered the siege to be pushed with vigour, and then reproached her ministers with having extorted her consent to that which she foresaw must end in failure and disgrace. Her predictions were verified. The besiegers made their approaches without judgment ; their batteries were ill-served, and ill-directed ; and when the assault was made one of the storming parties lost its way, the other found the scaling ladders too short. More than a thousand men perished in the advance and the retreat †.

This check put an end to the war. The queen applauded her own foresight ; and though, after a stormy debate with the secretary, she consented to reinforce the army, she still insisted that he should proceed to Scotland, and extinguish by negociation the flame which he had kindled. He submitted with an evil grace ; and, having instructed his friends to watch the intrigues of his political adversaries during his absence, set out on his unwelcome mission, with Wotton for his colleague ‡. At Newcastle they joined the French en-

* Haynes, i. 268. " It is a poor revenge," said the cardinal of Lorraine to Throckmorton, " that hath been used of late by your proclamation in England against my brother and me ; but we take it that it is not the queene's doing, but the perswasion of thre or foure about her : and, as I trust to see shortlye that she will be better advised, so we hope that er it be long, she will put her hand to punysh them for gyving her such advice." Forbes, i. 423. The original of the proclamation is in Cecil's hand-writing.

† See the official letters in Haynes, 283—388.

‡ See Cecil's letters in Forbes. " The queen's majestie reneweth the

voys, Randan and Montluc, and at Berwick signed a preliminary treaty. But by this time the royalists had suffered a severe loss in the death of the queen regent, a June princess of distinguished talents and moderation, who^{14.} had sacrificed the health of her body and the peace of her mind in support of the interests of her daughter. During her indisposition she was received within the Apr. castle of Edinburgh by the humanity of the lord Ers-^{4.} kine, who held that fortress by a commission from the three estates, and professed to observe the most scrupulous neutrality during the contest. From her death-bed Mary sent for the chiefs of the two opposite parties, June recommended to their care the weal of the kingdom, and^{10.} the rights of the sovereign, and saluting each of the lords, and giving her hand to the commoners, she publicly forgave every injury which she had received, and asked forgiveness of those whom she had offended. The^{11.} next day she expired, regretted by the catholics and the royalists, and esteemed by her very opponents. Knox alone was found to pour the venom of his slander over her grave*.

The French commissioners had been empowered to grant an amnesty to the insurgents, provided they would return to their duty. The offer was accepted: but at the same time demands were made which, while they left a nominal superiority to Francis and Mary,

"opinion of Cassandra—God trieth us with many difficulties. The queen's majestie never liketh this matter of Scotland; you know what hangeth thereuppon. Weak hearted men and flatterers will follow that way—I have had such a torment therein with the queen's majestie as an ague hath not in five fits so much abated—What will follow of my going I know not; but I fear the success, quia the queen's majestie is so evil disposed to the matter." Forbes, i. 454, 455, 456, 460, 500. The lord John Grey fears the influence of the Philippians during the absence of Cecil. By Philippians he means Arundel, Parry, Petre, and Ma-on: Haynes, 251; but Killygrew pronounces them all honest men, with the exception of Mason. Pembroke and Clinton support Cecil. Forbes, i. 501. They were called Philippians, because Philip had remonstrated with Elizabeth on her disgraceful conduct, in aiding the rebels of another prince. Forbes, i. 402. Haynes, 281.

* It is not easy to explain how Robertson (i. 139. edit. 1791) could misinterpret, as he has done, the expressions of Leslie in describing the death of the queen. Leslie, Hist. 525.

tended to transfer the exercise of the royal authority to the lords of the congregation. At first, Montluc and Randan defended with spirit the rights of the crown : but necessity compelled them to submit to more than their powers would justify ; and it was ultimately agreed, July 6. that after the removal of the French troops, with the exception of a small garrison in Dunbar, and another in Inchkeith, a convention of the three estates should be held, in virtue of a commission to be sent from the king and queen ; that out of twenty-four persons named by the convention, the queen should select seven, the estates five, to be intrusted with the government of the realm ; that none but natives should hold the great offices of the crown ; that the king and queen should not declare war nor conclude peace without the consent of the estates ; that neither the lords of the congregation, nor their followers, should be molested for the part which they had taken ; and that the churchmen should be protected in their persons, property, and rights, and should receive redress for their previous losses, according to the award of the estates in parliament. To these conditions was appended a demand that the new worship should be established. But on this point the commissioners refused to yield : Cecil himself condemned the fanaticism of the zealots ; and it was reserved for Maitland to pacify them with a promise, that a deputation, named by the convention, should lay this request before Francis and Mary*.

At the same time another treaty was in progress between the French and the English commissioners. The evacuation of Leith, and the removal of the foreign troops offered no difficulty ; but Cecil demanded the restoration of Calais as an indemnity for the injury offered to Elizabeth by the assumption of her title ; and

* Keith, 131—144. " Our travail is more with the loras of Scotland than with the French. I find some so depely perswaded in the matter of religion, as nothing can perswade them that may appear to hynder it. " My lord of Lidyngton (Maitland) helpeth much in this, or els surely I see folly would hazard the whole." Haynes, i. 333. See note (1).

moreover an express ratification of the treaty lately concluded at Berwick between the duke of Norfolk and the Scottish insurgents. On these questions much diplomatic finesse was displayed; and the conferences were repeatedly interrupted and resumed, till at length, by mutual concession, a treaty was concluded. Francis July and Mary were made to promise that, as the English 6. and Irish crowns belonged of right to Elizabeth, they would cease to bear the arms, or use the style of England and Ireland: the question of compensation was referred to the equitable decision of the king of Spain; and it stipulated that, as the French king and queen had made several concessions to their Scottish subjects, at the petition of the English queen, so they should ratify those concessions, whenever the Scots themselves had fulfilled the conditions on which they had been granted*.

Thus terminated the war of religion in Scotland; a war which reflected little credit on the arms of Elizabeth, and still less on the character of her advisers. The right of intervention, even in its most liberal acceptation, can never authorize one prince to intrigue clandestinely with the subjects of another, and to induce them, by the offer of assistance, to rebel against their sovereign at a time when he has bound himself by oath to live in perfect amity with that sovereign, and to refuse every kind of aid, secretly or openly, to his enemies†. Elizabeth was aware of the moral turpitude of such policy; she shrunk from the course of falsehood and dissimulation which it entailed upon her; and, though for a while she suffered her better judgment to be subdued by the sophistry and predictions of Cecil, she eagerly seized, as we have seen, the first opportunity supplied by a slight reverse before the walls of Leith, and compelled him to visit the scene of hostilities, that he might devise some effectual plan of accommo-

* Rym. xv. 593. Haynes, i. 354.

† See the treaty, art. 1, 2, 3. Rym, xv. 513.

Aug 1. dation. If that minister set out on his mission with reluctance, he discovered on the spot that he could easily obtain by peace the very object which he had sought by war. It was plain to him that the religious excitement of the reformers would trample under foot every engagement imposed upon them by the presence of the foreign armies. Nor was he deceived. The French and English forces were withdrawn from Scotland; and a convention of the estates, in which the congregationists, by the attendance of many of the lesser barons, possessed an overwhelming majority, assembled in Edinburgh without waiting for the commission from their sovereign. Not merely religious freedom, but religious domination, was the first object to claim their attention. 1°. An act was passed to abolish the papal jurisdiction in Scotland, and to provide punishment for any man who should presume to act under it. 2°. The administration of baptism after the catholic rite, and the celebration of mass in public or private, were prohibited under the penalty, both to the minister who should officiate, and to the persons who should be present, of forfeiture for the first offence, of banishment for the second, and of death for the third. 3°. A confession of faith, framed by Knox and his associates after the Genevan model, was approved, and every existing law incompatible with the profession of it was repealed. 4°. Every member of the convention, who refused to subscribe to the new creed, was instantly expelled: an ingenious device to refuse justice to those catholics who under the late pacification claimed compensation for their losses during the war. After the exclusion the names of the complainants were twice called; neither they nor their attorneys were present to support their claims; and it was declared that "the lordis and nobilitie had don thair duetie conform to the articles of" "the peax *," 5°. The earls of Morton and Glencairn

* Keith, 151. 488. Thus was accomplished the prophecy of Cecil, that the "reparation would be light enough." Haynes, 356. They had made

with secretary Lethington, were commissioned to wait on the English queen, and to propose to her, in the name of the estates, a marriage with the earl of Arran, son to the presumptive heir to the Scottish crown: a measure probably suggested to them by Cecil, as we know it to have been a favourite project which he had long laboured by every artifice in his power to accomplish*.

With an account of these proceedings, and the names of four-and-twenty persons out of whom, according to the treaty, the Scottish queen might choose seven of the twelve members of the council, Sir James Sandilands, a knight of Malta, proceeded to the French court. The mission of a single knight to Mary, in contrast with the mission of two earls to Elizabeth, was taken for a studied insult: and the enactments of the convention, in contradiction to the articles of pacification, were not likely to be graciously received. When Throckmorton required that Mary and her husband Francis should ratify the treaty, they replied that their Scottish subjects had fulfilled no one of their conditions of the accord; that they had acted as if they formed a republic independent of the sovereign; that Elizabeth continued to support them in their disobedience; and that she had already broken the ancient treaty, by admitting into her kingdom, and into her presence, the deputies of the convention, without the previous consent of their sovereign†.

In less than a month, Francis, a weak and sickly prince, died of an imposthume in the ear. By this event, the near connexion between France and Scotland was dissolved; and, as the dangers, conjured up by the jealousy of Cecil, had now vanished, Mary persuaded herself that she might assume without molestation the government of her native kingdom. Such, however,

their claims and solicited an answer during thirty-three days. Keith, *ibid.*

* Knox, 239. 254. 5. Spottis. 150. Art. Parl. Scot. ii. 525. App. 605.
† Hardwicke papers, i. 126. 129. Wright's Elizabeth, i. 50—2. See Note (1).

was not the design of the English ministry. They were aware that she might marry a second time, and that with a new husband her former pretensions might revive, a contingency against which it was their duty to provide. With this view a resolution was taken to prevent, or at least to retard, the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland. Winter continued to cruise in the Frith; 1561. and Randolph, the English agent, received instructions Mar. to remind the lords of the congregation of their obligations to Elizabeth; to advise the conclusion of a perpetual league with England during the absence of the queen; and to suggest a form of association, which should have for its chief object to compel her to marry one of her own subjects*. Elizabeth had no reason to complain of the backwardness of the Scots: Chastelherault, Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn, made to her the tender of their services; Maitland promised to betray to Cecil the plans and motions of Mary and her April friends; and the lord James, having proceeded to France 4. to assure his sister of his attachment and obedience, on May his return through England advised Elizabeth to inter- 4. cept her on the sea and to make her a prisoner†. With these noblemen loyalty and morality appear to have been empty names. Personal interest was their sole object, and in pursuit of this they cared little whether they served their sovereign or her adversary.

Mary had been left a widow at the age of eighteen. She spent the winter among her maternal relatives in Jan. Lorrain, and consoled her grief by writing elegies on her 5. departed husband. But the English envoys, the earl of Feb. Bedford, Mewtas, and Throckmorton, allowed her little 19. respite with their repeated demands of the ratification of April the treaty. To all she made the same reply: that since 13. the death of Francis, her uncles had refused to give her June 23. advice, that they might not be said to interfere in the concerns of Scotland; that on a subject which so

* Haynes, 366. Keith, 156. App. 94.

† Camden, i. 83. Keith, 163. App. 91. Chalmers, from letters in the State Paper office, ii. 238.

deeply affected the rights of her crown and her people, she could not be expected to answer without the aid of official advisers; but that, on her return to her dominions, she would consult the estates, and do whatever they should judge reasonable. These refusals irritated Elizabeth: they confirmed the suspicions, which had been previously suggested by her counsellors; and when d'Oyselles requested permission for Mary to pass through England to Scotland, she refused in a tone of vehemence, and with expressions of reproach, which betrayed the exacerbation of her mind*. Throckmorton soon afterwards waited on the Scottish queen to justify the conduct of his sovereign. When Mary saw him, she ordered her attendants to retire: "that," said she, "if like the queen of England I cannot command my temper, I may at least have fewer spectators of my weakness." To his reasons she replied: "your mistress reproaches me with my youth—it is a defect which will soon be cured—but she might reproach me with my folly, if, young as I am, without husband or council, I should take on myself to ratify the treaty. When I have consulted the estates of my realm, I will return a reasonable answer. I only repent that I had the weakness to ask of your sovereign a favour which I did not want. I came here in defiance of Edward VI.: I will return to Scotland in defiance of his sister. I want nothing of her but her friendship: if she choose she may have me a loving kinswoman, and a useful neighbour; for it is not my intention to intrigue with the discontented in her kingdom, as she intrigues with the discontented in mine†."

The resolution of the Scottish queen triumphed over the tortuous policy of the English cabinet. Letters in the name

* "Many reasons moved us to mislike her passadge, but *this only* served us for answer, that the Queen's Majestie would forbear to shew her such pleasure, untill she should ratify the last peace made in Edinburgh." Cecil to Sussex, 25 July, 1561. "So many reasons have induced us to deny the request, that I think it shall be of the wise allowed, and of our friends in Scotland most welcome." These reasons were, "that the very expectation of the queen's coming had erected up Huntley, Bothwell, Hume, and her other friends, and that the longer her affairs should hang in uncertainty, the longer it would be ere she should have such a match in marriage as might offend the English court." July 14, 1561. Hardwicke papers, i. 172, 173.

† Keith, 162—177. Cabala (edit. 1663), p. 374—379.

- June of Elizabeth had been sent to the lords of the congregation, admonishing them of the danger to which they would be exposed by the return of their sovereign, and advising them to divert her from her purpose, by some bold demonstration of their hatred to popery, and the renewal of their league with England*; and at the same time to give her additional cause of uneasiness, a squadron of men of war was collected in the Downs, for the specious purpose, as was pretended, of cruising against pirates in the narrow seas. Mary was not ignorant of the intrigues in Scotland, and suspected the object of the naval armament: still she determined to brave the danger; and, when Throckmorton waited on her, before her departure, said to him, "I trust I shall not need to come to the coast of England. If I do, then, Mr. Ambassador, the queen, your mistress, will have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may do her pleasure, and make her sacrifice of me. Peradventure that might be better for me than to live. In this matter God's will be done†." Having spent Aug. a few days with the royal family at St. Germain en Laye, she proceeded to Calais in great state, whence she despatched a messenger to Elizabeth with her answers to the demands made by Throckmorton. She does not appear to have waited for any reply from the English queen, but sailed from Calais, with two galleys, and four transports, accompanied by three of her uncles and many French and Scottish noblemen. As long as the coast remained in view she fixed her eyes on the land, in which she had lived from her childhood and had reigned as queen: then, stretching out her arms, exclaimed, "Farewell, beloved France, farewell." The next day a thick fog arose, a propitious circumstance; for, though the English admiral fell in with the squadron, though he captured one of

* Camden, 82. Cecil's letter may be seen in Mr. Stephenson's judicious collection of documents under the title of "Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary," p. 89. "I have shown," says Randolph, "your honour's letters unto the lord James, lord Morton, lord Lidington. They wish as your honour doth, that she might be stayed yet for a space: and, if it were not for their obedience sake, some of them care not, though they never saw her face. Lidington findeth it ever best that she come not: but, if she do come, to let her know at the first what she shall find, which is due obedience and willing service, if she embrace Christ, and desire to live in peace with her neighbours." Robertson, App. Vol. i. No. v. Lidington's answer is in Keith, App. 92. † Ibid. 176.

the transports carrying the earl of Eglinton, and searched two others laden with the queen's trunks and effects, he did not discover, or could not overtake the galleys*. On the fourth day Mary approached the land of her fathers with mingled emotions of hope and apprehension. To disappoint the machinations of her enemies, she had arrived a fortnight before the appointed time. No preparations were made for her reception, but the whole population, nobles, clergy, and people, poured to Leith to testify their allegiance to their young and beautiful sovereign. Her fears were dispelled: with a glad and lightsome heart she mounted her palfry; and entered the capital amidst the shouts and congratulations of her subjects. It was to her a day of real joy and happiness; perhaps the only one that she was destined to experience in Scotland †. That very evening she was compelled to listen to hundreds of zealots assembled to chant psalms under her window; and the next morning, still more unpleasant forebodings were suggested to her by the phrenzy of the populace, who attempted to murder one of her chaplains under the designation of a priest of Baal. Claiming for herself the right of worshipping according to her conscience, she established the catholic service in her own chapel: but a Sunday or two afterwards, "the earl of Sept. 19.
"Argyle and the lord James so disturbed the choir, 14.

* What secret instructions he had received we know not; for those in Haynes, p. 366, to which reference has been sometimes made, regard a different matter, and were signed in January preceding. But his hostile conduct, joined with the known anxiety of the English cabinet to prevent Mary's arrival in Scotland, make it highly probable that, as was then believed, he had been instructed to intercept her on the sea, and under some pretext or other, to bring her to England. Cecil, on the 12th of August, wrote to the earl of Sussex, that there were "three ships in the north seas, "to preserve the fishers from pyrats. *I think, they will be sorry to see her (the Scottish queen) pass*"—words evidently meant to prepare him for the expected result. But as the attempt did not succeed, it was necessary to deny it. Elizabeth wrote to Mary, that she had sent a few barks to sea, not "to preserve the fishers," but to cruise after certain Scottish pirates at the request of the king of Spain, (Keith, 181, 182; Robertson, App. vii.) and Cecil wrote to Throckmorton, "that the queen's majesty's "ships that were on the seas, to cleanse them from pirates, saw her and "saluted her galleys: and staying her ships, examined them gently. One "she detained as vehemently suspected of piracy." Hardwicke papers, i. 176. The men who fabricated so many falsehoods, to conceal the object of Winter's expedition to the Firth, could easily fabricate others to excuse their uncourteous conduct to the Scottish queen.

† Camden i. 82. Leslie, 585. Goodall, i. 175.

“that some, both priests and clerks, left their places
“with broken heads and bloody ears.”—“It was,” adds
the English envoy, “sport alone for some that were there
“to behold it*.”

Before I conclude* this chapter, I may call the attention of the reader to the private history of Elizabeth in the commencement of her reign. Her repeated asseverations that she preferred the state of celibacy to that of marriage obtained but little credit. Under her sister such language might be dictated by policy: at present it might serve to free her from the addresses of those whom she disliked. But no man would believe that she spoke her real sentiments; and there were many, both among foreign princes and native subjects, whose vanity or ambition aspired to the honour of marrying the queen of England.

1°. Of foreign princes the first was Philip of Spain.

His ambassador, the conde de Feria, received orders to
1559. make the proposal within two months after her acces-
Jan. sion. The queen was flattered but perplexed. She

10. remembered, with thankfulness, her former obligations to Philip; and was aware, that with him for her husband, she had no reason to fear the exertions of France in favour of Mary Stuart. But, on the other hand, her confidential advisers reminded her of her former disapproval of the marriage between him and her sister Mary; they objected his suspicious temper, and intolerant zeal in favour of the religion which she meant to abolish; they contended that his power was rather nominal than real, and argued that, since he was related in the same degree of affinity to her, as Henry VIII. had been to Catherine, she could not marry him without acknowledging that her mother had been the mistress,

* Brantome, 123. Randolph in Keith, 190. Knox maddened the zeal of his disciples by his prayers for her conversion from idolatry, and the strengthening of the hearts and hands of the elect. Id. p. 197. “It began to be called in question, whether that the princesse, being an idolater, might be obeyed in all civile and polititique actions.” Id. p. 202. “Upon alhalowe daye the Quene had a songe masse: that night one of her prestes was well beaten for hys reward by a servant of the lord Robert’s.” Nov. 4. Wright’s Eliz. i. 85.

not the wife of her father. At first the queen had¹⁵⁶⁶ replied to the ambassador, that, if she made up her^{Jan.} mind to marry, she would prefer Philip to any other^{19.} prince; but at his second audience requested to be excused on account of the impediment arising from Philip's former marriage with her sister*. Still the opponents^{Feb.} of the match were apprehensive of the result. But^{17.} they urged in parliament the projected measures for the abolition of the catholic worship; and Philip, who had made its preservation an indispensable condition, turned his eyes towards Isabella of France, by whom his offer^{April} was accepted. When the announcement was made to^{17.} the queen, she felt, or pretended to feel hurt, and complained to the ambassador of the precipitancy of his master, who could not wait four short months, but must take at once an evasive answer for a positive refusal. But the Spanish king was a wooer from policy. He preferred to the uncertain issue of his suit the solid advantages which he extorted from the anxiety of the French cabinet to prevent his union with the queen of England†.

2°. The place of Philip was supplied by his cousin Charles of Austria, son to the emperor Ferdinand‡. The family connexions of this prince promised equal support against the rivalry of Francis and Mary; to his person, talents, and acquirements, no objection could be adduced; but his religion opposed, if not in the opinion of the queen, at least in that of her counsellors, an insuperable obstacle to his suit. Elizabeth's vanity was indeed flattered, and she intimated a wish to see the archduke in England. It was generally understood that he had resolved to visit his intended bride under¹⁵⁵⁹ an assumed character; and, in foreign courts, an idea^{Nov.} prevailed, that the marriage was actually concluded: but

* Dixo que pensaba estar sin casarse, per que tenia mucho escrupelo en lo de la dispensa del Papa. Feria to Philip, *Memorias*, 264, 265.

† From the documents at Simancas, and Camden, i. 28. 30.

‡ Jewell to Bullinger, May 22, 1559. Burnet, iv. 532.

the emperor conceived it beneath his dignity to proceed with so much precipitancy, and opened a negotiation, which defeated his own purpose. Though he was induced to withdraw his first demand of a church for the celebration of the catholic service in London; though he consented that Charles should, on occasions of ceremony, attend the queen to the protestant worship; still he insisted that his son should possess a private chapel for his own use, and that of his catholic family. To this it was replied, that the laws of the realm allowed of no other than the established liturgy; and that the conscience of the queen forbade her to connive at the celebration of an idolatrous worship. So uncourteous an answer cooled the ardour of the young prince, and, as Elizabeth added, that she felt no wish to marry, Charles turned his attention towards the widow queen of Scotland; and the subject was dropped without any expression of dissatisfaction by either party*.

3^o. While the Austrian was thus preferring his suit, 1559. arrived in England, John, duke of Finland, to solicit the
Sept. hand of the queen for his brother Eric, king of Sweden †.
27. He was received with royal honours, and flattered with
Oct. delusive hopes. To the queen he paid incessant atten-
5. tion, sought to win the good will of her favourites by his
affability and presents, and as he went to court, usually
threw money among the populace, saying that he gave
them silver, but the king would give them gold. To
Eric, a protestant, no objection could be made on the
ground of religion: finding, however, that his suit made
little progress, he grew jealous of his brother, and recall-
ing him, confided his interests to the care of an ambassa-
1561. dor. At the same time he sent to Elizabeth eighteen
Oct. p'ebald horses, and several chests of bullion, with an in-
3. timation, that he would quickly follow in person to lay

* Camden, 53. Strype, i. 150. Haynes, 216. *Memorias*, vii. 278.

† *Succus et Carolus Ferdinandi filius mirificissime ambiunt. Sed Suecus impensè. Ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortasse thalamos propiores cogitat.* Jewell to P. Martyr, 2 Nov. 1559. Burn. iv. 562.

his heart at her feet. The queen had no objection to 1562. the present: but to relieve herself from the expense and embarrassment of a visit, she requested him, for his own sake, to postpone his journey, till the time when she could make up her mind to enter into matrimony*. At Jan. length his patience was exhausted; and he consoled himself for his disappointment by marrying a lady who, though unequal in rank to Elizabeth, could boast of superior beauty, and repaid his choice by the sincerity of her attachment†.

4°. Jealousy of the power of Eric had induced the king of Denmark to set up a rival suitor in the person of Adolphus duke of Holstein. The prince was young, handsome, and (which exalted him more in the eyes of Elizabeth) a soldier and a conqueror‡. On his arrival he 1560 was received with honour, and treated with peculiar Mar. kindness. He loved and was beloved§. The queen 20 made him knight of the garter; she granted him a pension for life; still she could not be induced to take him for her husband.

5°. While Charles, and Eric, and Adolphus, thus openly contended for the hand, or rather the crown, of Elizabeth, they were secretly opposed by a rival, whose pretensions were the more formidable, as they received the united support of the secretary and of the secretary's wife||. This rival was the earl of Arran, whose zeal for the glory of God had been stimulated with the hope of

* *Sneecus diuturnus proeus, et valde assiduus, nuper admodum dimissus est.* Jewell to P. Martyr, 7, Feb. 1562. Burn: iv. 568.

† Sadler, i. 507. Hardwicke papers, i. 173, 174. Camd. i. 67. Strype, i. 192—194. 234. 236. The whole court was thrown into confusion in September, 1561, by the intelligence that he was actually on his voyage. The instructions issued in consequence are amusing. See them in Haynes, i. 370.

‡ *Dithmarsis nuper debellatis.* Camd. i. 69.

§ -o I conclude from Peyto's letter to Throckmorton, "There goeth a" whispering that he is a sueter, and as the Italian saeth, molto amartel-
" lato. If the fyrst be avowable, I doubt not of the last: for it is a con-
" sequent of force respecting the parties: as youe, I dare say, will agree
" therein with me." Forbes, i. 443. May 9, 1560.

|| See the letters to her from Maitland, Melville, and Arran, in Haynes, 359, 362, 363.

an earthly reward in the marriage of the queen. During the war of the reformation he had displayed a courage and constancy, which left all his associates, with the exception perhaps of the lord James, far behind him ; and, as soon as the peace was concluded, he presumed to 1560. apply for the expected recompense of his services. To Oct. the deputies of the Scottish convention, who urged his suit, Elizabeth, with her usual affectation replied ; that she was content with her maiden state, and that God had given her no inclination for marriage. Yet the sudden departure of the ambassadors deeply offended her pride. She complained that while kings and princes persevered for months and years in their suit, the Scots did not deign to urge their requests a second time*. As for Arran, whether it were owing to his disappointment or to some other cause, he fell into a deep melancholy, which ended in the loss of his reason.

From foreign princes we may turn to those among the queen's subjects, who, prompted by their hopes, or seduced by her smiles, flattered themselves with the expectation of winning her consent. The first of these was sir William Pickering. He could not boast of noble blood : nor had he exercised any higher charge than that of a mission to some of the petty princes of Germany. But the beauty of his person, his address, and his taste in the polite arts, attracted the notice of the young queen ; and so lavish was she of her attention to this unexpected favourite, that for some weeks he was considered by the courtiers as her future consort†. But Pickering was soon forgotten ; and, if disparity of age could have been compensated by political experience and nobility of descent, the earl of Arundel had a better

* Keith, 154—156. Haynes, 364.

† *Vulgi suspicio inclinat in Pickerinum, hominem Anglum, virum et prudentem et pium et regia corporis dignitate præditum.* Jewell to Bullinger, 22 May, 1559. Burn, iv. 552. He was in so great favour with the queen, *que se negociaban a 25 por 100 las apnestas de que saria rey.* Don Alvarade Quadra, Bp. of Aquila, in a letter to Philip, May, 1559. He had been added to the embassy Nov. 25, 1558, and on the recall of Feria on May 8, 1559, was left resident ambassador.

claim to the royal preference. For some years that nobleman persevered in his suit, to the disquietude of his conscience, and the disparagement of his fortune. He was by persuasion a catholic, but, to please the queen, voted in favour of the reformation: he possessed considerable estates, but involved himself in debt by expensive presents, and by entertainments given to his sovereign and her court. When at length he could no longer serve her politics, or minister to her amusements, she cast him off, and treated him not only with coldness, but occasionally with severity*.

The man who made the deepest and most lasting impression on her heart, was the lord Robert Dudley, who had been attainted with his father the duke of Northumberland, for the attempt to remove Elizabeth as well as Mary from the succession. He had, however, been restored in blood, and frequently employed by the late queen: under the present he met with rapid preferment, was appointed master of the horse, and soon afterwards, to the surprise of the public, installed knight of the garter. The queen and Dudley became inseparable 1559. companions. Scandalous reports were whispered, and Dec. believed at home; in foreign courts it was openly said they lived together in adulterous intercourse. Dudley had married Amy, the daughter and heiress of sir John Robesart; but that lady was not permitted to appear at court; and her lord allotted for her residence a lonely and unfrequented mansion, called Cumnor, in Berkshire. In this secluded situation she was afflicted in the spring of 1559 with a painful complaint in the chest; and it

* He was 47 years old at the queen's accession. From papers in Haynes, (364, 365) it appears, that he was the great rival of Dudley. If we may believe a note, preserved by Camden in his corrected copy of his annals, the earl introduced the use of coaches into England. In 1565, he travelled to the baths at Padua, for relief from the gout. Afterwards he fell into disgrace for his participation in the design of marrying the duke of Norfolk to the queen of Scots; and from that time till his death, (Feb. 23, 1580,) was almost always confined by order of the council to his house; not, as far as appears, for any real offence, but as a dangerous person, on account of his opposition to the designs of the ministers.

was openly said that Dudley waited only for her death to accomplish his marriage with the queen. Amy, however, recovered to disappoint that hope, if he really entertained it : but her sudden death in the following year 1560. provoked a more injurious suspicion, that his impatience of waiting had prompted him to make away with his wife *. To silence such reports, some judicial investigation, probably a coroner's inquest, was ordered ; and the result was a declaration that the death of lady Dudley had been the effect of accident. Immediately the report of the marriage revived ; it was believed that the queen had solemnly pledged her word to Dudley ; and even a lady of the bed-chamber was named as witness to the contract †. Parry, the treasurer of the household, declared in its favour ; and Cecil and his friends, though they condemned the measure, had not the courage to express their disapprobation. As a last resource, they trusted to the ingenuity of Throckmorton, who undertook the delicate and hazardous office. He did not, indeed, open his mind to his sovereign as he had done to Cecil ; but he adopted the safer expedient of attributing his own sentiments to others, and then communicated them to Elizabeth, as a painful duty imposed on him by the charge Nov. 27. which he held. With this view his secretary Jones came to England, and obtained permission to detail to the queen in private the real or pretended remarks of the

* Lever, one of the preachers, wrote to Knollis and Cecil to make inquiry into the matter, because, " here in these partes seemeth unto me to be a grevous and dangerous suspection and muttering of the deaeth of her that was the wife of my lord Robert Dudlie." Haynes, 362. Throckmorton also wrote to Cecil, " The bruits be so brim, and so maliciously reported here, touching the marriage of the lord Robert, and the death of his wife, that I know not where to turn me, nor what countenance to bear." Hardwicke papers, i. 121. " I assure you, sir, thies folks are brode mowthed, where I speke of oon to much in favour as they estem . . . To tell you what I conceyve, as I count the slawnder most false, so a young princess canne not be to ware." Chaloner to Cecil, Dec. 6, 1559. Haynes, 212. See also Memorias, 282, 283, 284.

† Mary Stuart, detailing the report of lady Shrewsbury, writes to Elizabeth : qu'un, auquel elle disoit que vous aviez fait promesse de mariage devant une dame de vostre chambre, avoit couché infinies fois avecques vous avec toute la licence et privauté, qui se peut user entre mari et femme. Murdin, 558.

Spanish and Venetian ambassadors respecting her projected union with Dudley, and the infamous character of that nobleman. She listened to the messenger with patience, sometimes bursting into a laugh, sometimes covering her face with her hands. In conclusion, she told him that he had come on an unnecessary errand ; that she was already acquainted with every thing that he had said ; and that she had convincing proof of the innocence of her favourite, in regard to the reported murder of his wife *. What impression this conference may have made on her mind is unknown : Dudley was not to be diverted from the object of his ambition ; and it was probably to rebut the common objection derived from the inequality of rank between a sovereign and her subject that he sought to interest Philip of Spain in his favour. He repeatedly visited the ambassador Quadra, and, after the death of Quadra, his successor, Gusman de Silva, explained to them how he would mitigate the sufferings of English catholics, if he were married to the queen ; and solicited them to draw, if it were possible, from the Spanish monarch some direct or indirect approval of his suit. It does not appear that Philip vouchsafed to return an answer †.

* See the letters of Jones in the Hardwicke papers. As to the death of lady Dudley, she said, "that he was then in the court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house ; and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour." Ibid. 165. Six months after this conversation Cecil ordered Throckmorton to send over a French goldsmith, with aigrettes, chains, bracelets, &c., to be bought by the queen and her ladies : on which he observes : "what is meant in it I know not : whether for that *which many look for*, or the coming in of the Swede : but, as for me, I can see no certain disposition in her majesty for any marriage : and any other likelihood doth not the *principal* here find, which causeth him to be perplexed." Hard. papers, i. 172.

† From the despatches at Simancas in 1561, 1562. 1564. See Gonzales, Apuntamentos, 36. 41. 57.

CHAPTER V.

Elizabeth aids the French Huguenots—Proceedings of parliament—Penal statutes against catholics—Thirty-nine articles—Pacification in France—Retreat of the English—Elizabeth proposes to Mary Stuart to marry Dudley—She marries Darnley—Elizabeth fixes on the archduke Charles for her husband—Rejects him—Assassination of Riccio—Birth of James—Petition to Elizabeth to marry—Her unintelligible answer—Assassination of Darnley—Trial and acquittal of Bothwell—Marriage of Mary with Bothwell.

IN the preceding chapter I have noticed the commencement of that connexion, which, after the death of Henry II., subsisted between the English government and the Huguenots of France*. The failure of the attempt to surprise the court at Amboise had broken their projects; and the origin of the conspiracy was clearly traced to the king of Navarre and his brother the prince of Condé. An unexpected event not only preserved these princes from punishment, but revived and invigorated their hopes. Francis II. died, and the queen mother Catherine of Medici, being appointed regent during the minority of her son Charles IX., sought their aid to neutralize the ascendancy of the house of Guise. The prince of Condé was released from prison, and admitted into the council; his brother, the king of Navarre, obtained the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The queen's next object was to pacify, if she could not unite, the two great

* There have been several fanciful derivations of the word Huguenot. It is now supposed to have been originally "eidgenossen, or associated," by oath, the name assumed by the Calvinistic party in Geneva during their contest with the catholics. From Geneva missionaries penetrated into the south of France, and took with them the appellation of Egnots or Huguenots.

religious parties which divided the population of France. In this she was ably seconded by the chancellor de l'Hospital; and the edict of January, 1562, both suspended 1562. the execution of all penal laws on the score of religion, Jan. 17. and granted to the Calvinists ample liberty for the exercise of their worship. But the minds of men were too fiercely exasperated by mutual injuries to listen to the voice of moderation. Nothing less than the extirpation of what they termed idolatry could satisfy the fanatics among the reformers: and by the zealots of the opposite party the smallest concession to the new religionists was deemed an apostacy from the faith of their fathers. It was impossible to prevent these factions from coming into collision in different places: riots, pillage, and bloodshed were generally the consequence; and the leaders on both sides began to prepare for the great conflict which they foresaw, by associations within, and confederacies without, the realm. On the one hand Condé, Coligny, and d'Andelot, encouraged by the advice of the English ambassador Throckmorton, who continually urged them to draw the sword against their opponents*, claimed pecuniary and military aid of Elizabeth, and despatched envoys to levy reisters and lansquenets among their fellow religionists in Germany: on the other, Montmorency, the duke of Guise, and the marshal St. André entered into a solemn compact to support the ancient creed by the extirpation of the new doctrines; solicited for that purpose the co-operation of the king of Spain; and sought to draw to their party the Lutheran princes of Germany. At first the queen regent, more apprehensive of the ambition of the duke of Guise than

* Throckmorton informs us, in one of his letters, that the duke charged him to his face with being "the author of all the troubles;" and therefore required him "to help to bring them out of trouble, as he had helped "to bring them into it." In his answer the ambassador did not venture to deny the charge. Forbes, ii. 255. 2:7. "Nos divisions, lesquelles Trokmorton avoit fomentées et entretenues longuement par la continuelle fréquentation et intelligence qu'il avoit avec l'admiral et ceux de son parti. il fit entrer sa maîtresse en cette partie, dont elle m'a souvent dit depuis, qu'elle s'estoit repentie, mais trop tard." Castelnau, Mem. xliv. 50.

of that of the prince of Condé, had offered to the latter the support of the royal authority: but the king of Navarre had been gained over to the catholic cause; Catherine and her son were conducted by him from April Fontainebleau to Paris; and from that hour they made common cause with those among whom fortune rather than inclination had thrown them. In a short time the flames of war burst out in every province in France. If the lieutenant-general secured Paris for the king, the prince of Condé fortified Orleans for the insurgents. Each party displayed that ferocious spirit, that thirst for vengeance, which distinguishes civil and religious warfare: one deed of unjustifiable severity was requited by another; and the most inhuman atrocities were daily perpetrated by men, who professed to serve under the banners of religion, and for the honour of the Almighty*.

Though the Calvinists were formidable by their union and enthusiasm, they did not form more than one hundredth part of the population of France †. Still the prince cherished strong hopes of success. He relied on the resources of his own courage, on the aid of the German and Scottish protestants, and on the promises Mar. of Throckmorton. His envoys, the Vidame of Chartres, 15. and De la Haye, stole over to England, visited Cecil in the darkness of the night, and solicited from the queen a reinforcement of ten thousand men, with a loan of three hundred thousand crowns‡. When the par-

* The French reformed writers generally ascribe the war to an affray, commonly called by them the massacre of Vassy, in which about sixty men were slain by the followers of the duke of Guise. But, 1^o, there is every reason to believe that this affray was accidental, and provoked by the religionists themselves. See La Popelin, l. vii. 283, and the declaration of the duke on his death-bed, preserved by Brantome, who was present both at Vassy and at his death. 2^o. The affray happened on March 1, yet the Calvinists at Nismes began to arm on the 19th Feb. at the sound of the drum. They were in the field and defeated De Flasseans on March 6th. See Menard, Histoire de Nismes, iv. preuves, 6.

† Castelnau, iv. c. 2.

‡ There is in Forbes an enigmatical letter to the prince, in which, to disguise the real subject, he is designated as the nephew, the queen as the aunt, the war is an action at law, a body of one thousand men, a document to be exhibited in court, &c. Forbes, ii. 35.

simony of Elizabeth shrunk from such unexpected demands, Throckmorton was employed to stimulate the royal mind, with letters of the most alarming tendency. July Cecil maintained to her that the ruin of Condé would 1. infallibly be followed by her own deposition; and, what probably weighed more with the queen than the alarm of the ambassador, or the predictions of the secretary, her favourite Dudley aided their efforts by his prayers and advice*. A treaty was formally concluded between the queen of England, the ally of Charles, and the Sept prince of Condé, a subject in arms against that sovereign. 20. But if she engaged to advance the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, and to land an army of six thousand men on the coast of Normandy, she was, at the same time, careful to require from him the surrender into her hands of the town of Havre de Grace, to be detained by her as a security, not only for the repayment of the money, but also for the restoration of Calais †.

The conferences between Cecil and the Vidame did not escape the notice of the French ambassador. With the treaty of Cateau in his hand, he demanded, in conformity with the thirteenth article, that the agents of the prince should be delivered up as traitors to their sovereign; and warned the queen that, according to the tenth article, she would forfeit, by the first act of hostility, all claim to the recovery of Calais at the expiration of the appointed term. But his remonstrances were disregarded. A fleet sailed to cruise off the coast of Nor-Oct. mandy; successive flotillas carried six thousand men to 3. the ports of Havre and Dieppe, which had been de-

* The secretary attempted to prove his assertion in the following manner. If Condé was subdued, the duke of Guise would make an alliance with the king of Spain; the son of the latter would then marry the queen of Scots; the next step would be to proclaim Mary Stuart queen of England, with an understanding that Philip should have Ireland as an indemnity for the expense of sending an army to enforce her right. Lastly, the council of Trent would excommunicate all heretics, and give away their dominions; and of course the English catholics would join the invading army. Such were the visionary evils, with which he sought to alarm the mind of his sovereign. See Forbes, ii. 5.

† Ibid. 48. Thuan. ii. 198. 294.

livered to the queen; and the new earl of Warwick, the brother of the lord Robert Dudley was appointed commander-in-chief of the English army in France*.

Notwithstanding this hostile interference, Elizabeth affected to maintain the peace between the two crowns, and to feel a sincere affection for her good brother, the young king of France. To the natives of Normandy Sept. she had declared by proclamation, that her only object
24. was to preserve them, as she had lately preserved the people of Scotland, from the tyranny of the house of Guise†; and, when the French ambassador, in the name of his sovereign, required her to withdraw the
Oct. army, she refused to believe that the requisition came
25. from Charles himself; because it was, she said, the duty of a king to protect his subjects from oppression, and to accept with gratitude the aid, which might be offered him for that purpose.

Such miserable and flimsy sophisms could not cover the real object of the English cabinet; and the prince began to be considered, even by his own followers, as a traitor to his country. The duke of Guise had expelled the English from the last strong hold which they possessed in France; his opponent had recalled them into the realm, and given them two sea-ports in place of the one which they had lost. Fired with resentment, the nobility hastened to the royal army from every province
Sept. 18. of France; and to animate their exertions, Charles, the

* Forbes, 53—80. Strype, i. 328.

† Forbes, ii. 79. To this and similar invectives against the house of Guise, the duke contented himself with the following reply—"Monsieur l'ambassadeur, it seemethe the queene your mistres, by the publication of suche thinges as she doeth sette furthe in printe, dothe bestowe her whole displeasure and indignation uppon me and my house. I will alledge at thys tyme nothing for our defence: but desyre you to saye that, besydes it is an unusual manner for princes thus to treat persons of qualitie and respect, by diffamatorie libelles and writings, we have had the honour, by marriage, to make alliance with the house of England, whereof she is descended; so as she cannot dishonour nor discredit us, but it must touche herselfe, consyding we are descended out of her house, and she from ours; by the tyme, peradventure, she shall have passed more years in the worlde, she will more respect them that have the honour to be allyed to her, than she doethe nowe." Forbes, ii. 258.

queen regent, and the king of Navarre, repaired to the Oct. camp before Rouen. Though the latter was mortally 15. wounded in the trenches, the siege was still urged with vigour; the obstinacy of the governor refused every offer of capitulation; two hundred Englishmen, who had been sent to his support, perished in the breach; and the city was taken by assault, and abandoned, during 26. eight days, to the fury of a victorious soldiery*.

The English ministers now began to fear the resentment of their own sovereign, and committed to her favourite Dudley the unwelcome task of acquainting her with this loss. For a while he suppressed the intelligence, and prepared her mind, by hinting at unfavour- 30. able rumours in the city, and representing the fall of Rouen as a probable consequence of her procrastination and parsimony. The queen did not suspect the artifice. When the truth was disclosed to her, she took all the blame upon herself; and in the fervour of her repentance, despatched reinforcements to the earl of Warwick, Nov. commissioned count Oldenburgh to levy twelve thou- 3. sand men in Germany, and ordered public prayers during three days to implore the blessing of Heaven upon her cause, and that of the Gospel†.

The superior force of the royalists had compelled Condé to remain an unwilling spectator of the siege of Rouen: the arrival of six thousand mercenaries, raised in the protestant states of Germany, by the joint efforts of d'Andelot and Wroth the English commissioner, en-

* La Nöne says only three days; which meant, according to the laws of war in those times, un jour entier pour butiner, un autre pour emporter, et l'autre pour composer. Mém. Tom. 47. p. 131.

† Forbes, ii. 133. 165. 169—188. "I have somewhat prepared the way with her," says Dudley in a letter to Cecil (Oct. 30). "touching this great loss at Roan, in this sort: saing, ther was a bruyt com, that ther was lately a tyrrible assault geven to yt, in such sort as yt was greatly dowed the loss thereof. I pityed withall, yf yt shuld be so, the scant credytt and lyttle regard was had at the begining, whan yt might hav safely bin defended. I perceave by her marvelous remorse, that she had not dealt more frankly for yt—repentyng the want of ayde very much, and wold neds now send forthwith to help them; for as yet she knoweth not the loss of yt." Forbes, ii. 155.

Nov. abled him to move from Orleans, and to menace Paris.
 8. The hopes of the English queen revived; though the promptitude with which the prince listened to the overtures of the French cabinet might have taught her to question his fidelity. This negotiation was, however, interrupted by the more intractable spirit of Coligny; and at Dreux, on the banks of the Dure, was fought a battle, more memorable for the fate of the adverse generals than for the number of the slain. The constable, who commanded the royalists, and Condé, who commanded the insurgents, were reciprocally made prisoners: and thus, by the chance of war, the chief power among the one party was concentrated in the duke of Guise and his adherents, the most violent of the catholics; while among the other it fell into the hands of the admiral Coligny and his followers, the most bigotted of the Huguenots. The victory was won by the duke: Coligny retired to his intrenchment at Orleans, and by letters and messengers conjured the queen of England to send the supplies, to which she was bound by treaty*.

There was never, perhaps, a sovereign more reluctant to part with money than Elizabeth. Notwithstanding her engagements to the prince, her remorse for past delay, her resolutions of amendment, not a single crown had yet been advanced: at last the mutinous clamour of the German auxiliaries, the prayers of the admiral, and the representations of her advisers, wrung from her 1563 an order for payment†; but not till she had obtained Feb. from her parliament a grant of a subsidy upon land, and 15. of two tenths and fifteenths on moveables. The argument on which this demand was founded was the old tale of the inveterate enmity of the house of Guise. They had originally sought, it was said, to deprive the queen of her crown by annexing Scotland to France;

* Forbes, ii. 195—203. 209. 217. 226. 251. *Mém. de Castelnau* (Coll. Petit.) xxxiii. 241. The duke of Guise, because the other party called it his "quarrel," commanded his own troop of horse only: the events of the battle threw the whole command into his hands, 245.

† *Ibid.* 247. 264. 272. 274. 297. 301. 322. 334.

they now proposed to effect the same object by annihilating the reformers abroad, and employing conspirators in England. The first plan the queen had defeated at her own expense; the second she trusted to defeat, if her faithful subjects would supply her with means. The vote appears to have passed both houses without opposition *. Feb. 19.

The conspiracy, to which allusion has been made, was a wild and visionary scheme, supposed to have been devised by two brothers, the nephews of the late cardinal Pole. Considering themselves as lineal descendants of the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV., they aspired to that rank in the state to which they conceived themselves entitled by birth. For several weeks during the last autumn, Elizabeth had been confined to her chamber by the small-pox: many unfounded reports were circulated, and among the rest a pretended prophecy that she would not outlive the month of March. The Poles determined to quit the realm, with the intention, in the event of the queen's death, of landing a body of men in Wales, and proclaiming Mary Stuart her successor. They had formed a notion that their promptitude, if it proved successful, might obtain, from the gratitude of that princess, her hand for the one, and the title of Clarence for the other. Having communicated their plan to the French and Spanish ambassadors, they 1562. prepared for their departure; but their secret had been Oct. betrayed, and both were apprehended. For some months a veil of mystery was drawn over their project; and the people were alarmed with the report of a conspiracy against the life of the queen and the reformed worship. 1563. As soon as the commons had voted the requisite supply, Feb. the two brothers were arraigned, and condemned on the 26. confession of Fortescue, their associate. If there was anything illegal, there was nothing formidable in their

* D'Ewes, 60. 84.

design ; and the queen, after a short delay, granted them a pardon*.

But this session of parliament, the second in Elizabeth's reign, is chiefly distinguished by an act highly penal against the professors of the ancient faith. By the law, as it already stood, no heir holding of the crown could sue out the livery of his lands, no individual could obtain preferment in the church, or accept office under the crown, or become member of either university, unless he had previously taken the oath of supremacy, which was deemed equivalent to a renunciation of the catholic creed. It was now proposed to extend to others the obligation of taking the oath, and to make the first refusal an offence punishable by *premunire*, the second by death, as in cases of treason. The cause assigned for this additional severity was the necessity of "restraining" and correcting the marvellous outrage and licentious "boldness of the fautors of the bishop of Rome." But it met with considerable opposition from many protestants, who questioned both its justice and its policy ; its justice, because the offence was sufficiently punished by privation of office and property ; and its policy, because where the number of non-conformists is great, extremity of punishment is more likely to provoke rebellion than to secure obedience. In the house of lords it was combated in a forcible and eloquent speech by the viscount Montague. Where, he asked, was the necessity for such a law ? "It was known to all men, that the catholics had created no disturbance in the realm. They disputed not : they preached not : they disobeyed not the queen : they brought in no novelties in doctrine

* Strype, i. 327. 333. I almost think that this was nothing more than an imaginary plot to keep alive the irritation of the queen against the house of Guise, and her inclination to favour the projects of the French protestants. "Contynew," says Cecil to Throckmorton, "your wryting to putt the quene's majeste in remembrance of her perill, if the Guises prosper." Forbes, ii. 1. "The Pooles and Fortescugh ar in the Tower, who had intelligence with the Guises to have attempted high treason." Id. p. 186.

“or religion.” Then, could there be conceived a greater tyranny, than to compel a man, under the penalty of death, to swear to that as true, which in his conscience he believes to be doubtful? Now, that the right of the queen to ecclesiastical supremacy must appear to many men doubtful, was evident from this, that though enforced by law in England, it was contradicted by the practice and opinion of every other nation, whether reformed or unreformed, in christendom. Let then their lordships beware how they placed men under the necessity of forswearing themselves, or of suffering death, lest, instead of submitting, they should arm in their own defence; and let not the house, in making laws, permit itself to be led by the passions and rapacity of those “who looked to wax mighty and of power by the “confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and “ancient men*.”

After a long struggle, the bill was carried by the Mar. efforts of the ministers, but with several provisions, ex- 3.
empting the temporal peers from its operation, and protecting from forfeiture the heirs of the attainted. Still it extended the obligation of taking the oath to two classes of men not contemplated in the original act; 1°. to the members of the house of commons, to schoolmasters, private tutors, and attorneys; and 2°. to all persons who had ever held office in the church, or in any ecclesiastical court, during the present, or the last three reigns; or who should openly disapprove of the established worship, or should **celebrate**, or hear others celebrate, any private mass; that is, in one word, to the whole catholic population of the realm. As to the first class, it was enacted in their favour, that the oath could be tendered to them but once; and of course they were liable only to the lesser penalty of forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment: but to those of the second class, it was to be tendered twice; and for the second refusal the

* Strype, i. 259—271

offender was subjected to the punishment of death, as in cases of high treason*. It is manifest that if this barbarous statute had been strictly carried into execution, the scaffolds in every part of the kingdom would have been drenched with the blood of the sufferers: but the queen was appalled at the prospect before her; she communicated her sentiments to the metropolitan; and that prelate, by a circular but secret letter, admonished the bishops, who had been appointed to administer the oath, to proceed with lenity and caution; and never to make a second tender, till they had acquainted him with the circumstances of the case, and had received his answer. Thus, by the humanity or policy of Elizabeth, were the catholics allowed to breathe from their terrors: but the sword was still suspended over their heads by a single hair, which she could break at her pleasure, whenever she might be instigated by the suggestions of their enemies, or provoked by the real or imputed misconduct of individuals of their communion†.

Jan. According to ancient custom the convocation had
12. assembled at the same time with the parliament. The matters submitted to its deliberations were of the highest importance to the newly established church; an adequate provision for the lower order of the clergy, a new code of ecclesiastical discipline, and the promulgation of a national creed, the future standard of English orthodoxy. The two first were opposed and prevented by the avarice

* St. 5 Eliz. c. 1. Cecil to sir Thos. Smith (Feb. 27) admits the extreme rigour of these laws, but adds, "such be the humours of the common house, as they thinke nothing sharp ynough ageynst papists." To account for such "sharpness," Mr. Wight refers us to a paper in Strype, (1. 375.) which, however, is dated April 13 of the following year, stating that it was resolved at Rome "to grant a pardon to any that would assault the queen, or to any cook, brewer, baker, vintner, physician, grocer, chirurgion, or of any other calling whatsoever, that would make her away. And an absolute remission of sins to the heirs of that party's family, and a perpetual annuity to them, and to be of the privy council to whomsoever afterwards should reign." This was sent from Venice by one Deinum, who had gone to Italy as a spy, and pretended that he had procured the information by bribery. The absurdity of the tale can be equalled only by the credulity of those who believe it.

† Strype's Parker, 125, 126.

and prejudices of the courtiers, who sought rather to lessen than increase the wealth and authority of the churchmen; to the third; as it interfered neither with their interests nor their pleasures, they offered no objection. The doctrines formerly published by the authority of Edward VI. furnished the groundwork of the new creed; several omissions and amendments were made; and the thirty-nine articles, as they now exist, received the subscriptions of the two houses of convoca-^{1562.} tion *. This important work was accomplished in a few ^{Jan.} days, and, as far as appears, without any considerable ^{22.} debate; but the subsequent proceedings supply a memora- ^{29.} ble instance of the inconsistency into which men are frequently betrayed by change of situation. None of the members could have forgotten the persecution of the last reign; many had then suffered imprisonment or exile for their dissent from the established church. Yet now, as if they had succeeded to the infallibility which they condemned, they refused to others that liberty of religious choice which they had arrogated to themselves. Instead of considering the thirty-nine articles as merely the distinguishing doctrines of the church recently established by law, they laboured to force them upon the consciences of others. To question their truth they deemed a crime; and had their efforts proved successful, every dissenter from the new creed would have been subject to the penalties of heresy †. But the design was opposed and defeated by the council.

* Wilkins, Con. iv. 232. Strype, i. 280. 290. See note (K).

† It was proposed, that "whosoever should preach, declare, write or speak any thing in derogation, depraving, or despising the said book (containing the articles) or any doctrine therein contained, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any ordinary, he should be ordered as in case of heresy, or else should forfeit 100 marks for the first offence, 400 for the second, and all his goods and chattels, with perpetual imprisonment, for the third." Strype, 282. This was adopted by the lower house, and transmitted to the higher, but with a blank for the punishment, to be afterwards filled up. Another clause was subsequently suggested, that "if any person whatsoever should deny directly or indirectly, publicly or privately, by writing or speaking, any article of doctrine contained in the book, and be thereof lawfully convicted before the ordinary, and obstinately stand in the same, he should be—." Wilkins, iv. 241. Strype, 302.

Such a law was thought unnecessary, as far as regarded the catholics, since they could at any moment be brought to the scaffold, under the act of supremacy; and it was inexpedient with respect to the disciples of the Genevan divines, whom the queen sought to allure by indulgence, rather than to exasperate by severity.

The hope of recovering Calais was one of the chief baits, by which the queen had been drawn into the war between the French Huguenots and their sovereign. Her ministers had predicted the restoration of that important place; the prince of Condé had promised to support her demand with his whole power; and the admiral, when he received the subsidy, confirmed the engagement made by the prince*. Within a few weeks it was seen how little reliance could be placed upon men, who fought only for their own emolument. While the admiral gave the plunder of Normandy to his German auxiliaries, the royalists formed the siege of Orleans, the great bulwark of their opponents. Its fall was confidently anticipated, when Poltrot, a deserter from the Huguenot army, and in the pay of the admiral, assassinated the duke of Guise†. The death of that nobleman was followed by a sudden and unexpected revolution. Condé aspired to the high station in the government to which he was entitled as first prince of the blood; and the catholics feared that the English, with the aid of Coligny, might make important conquests in Normandy. The leaders on both sides, anxious for an accommodation, met, were reconciled, and subscribed a treaty of peace, by which the French religionists promised their services to the king, as true and loyal subjects, and obtained in return an amnesty for the past, and the public exercise of their religion for the future, in one town of every bailiwick in the kingdom‡, with the

* Forbes, ii. 394. Castelnau, 250.

† The two apologies of Coligny prove that if he did not instigate the assassin, he knew of, and connived at, the intended assassination. See Petitot's collection, xxxiii. 281.

‡ Forbes, 339. 350—359. Castelnau, 233. 240—245.

exception of the good city of Paris. This pacification was eagerly accepted by the gentlemen, the followers of Condé: it was loudly reprobated by d'Andelot, the ministers, and the more fanatic of the party.

Elizabeth received the intelligence with surprise and anger. In her public declarations, she had hitherto professed to hold the town of Havre in trust for the king of France; but now, when he required her to withdraw Apr. her forces, she replied that she would continue to hold it, as a security for the restoration of Calais*. The French government assured her of their intention to surrender that place at the expiration of the appointed term, and of their willingness to ratify a second time the treaty of Cateau; they would even give her additional June hostages, and place in her hands the bonds of the French king, and of the princes of the blood†. Briquemont was moreover sent by the prince of Condé, and Robertot by the king, with an offer to repay all the money which the queen had advanced to the insurgents‡. But she continued inexorable, till she saw that both parties, the huguenots as well as the catholics, had determined to unite and expel the English troops from the soil of France. She then receded from her former pretensions, and Throckmorton was despatched to present, in union with Smith the resident ambassador, a new project on her part. But he came too late. The siege of Havre July had been formed: Throckmorton, under pretence that he had no regular permission, but in reality to prevent him from renewing his former intrigues, was arrested and thrown into prison§; and the audience demanded

* Forbes, 405. 409.

† Ibid. 411. 435. 442.

‡ Mém. de Condé, iv. 518. She had sent 100,000 crowns to the admiral as lately as March 15. Mordin, 754.

§ Camd. 100. Throckmorton's intrigues with the French Calvinists were so well known, that they exposed him to frequent insults from the people of Paris, on which account he had been recalled at his own request, and that of the queen mother. (Forbes, ii. 2. 8. 25.) But, on his road to Bourges to take leave, he was—by his own contrivance according to Camden (97.)—made prisoner by the prince of Condé (Sep. 1, 1562.), with whom he resided as confidential agent till the battle of Dreux (Dec. 19), when he fell into the hands of the duke of Guise, and by him, after a

- by Sir Thomas Smith was indefinitely and unceremoniously postponed. In a few days two breaches were made in the walls; the garrison, reduced by the ravages of a most virulent disease, was unable to support an assault; and the earl of Warwick surrendered Havre to its rightful sovereign, on condition that he might return with his forces to England*.

- Elizabeth was now doomed to pay the penalty of her bad faith. To obtain the liberty of Throckmorton she placed de Foix, the French envoy, under restraint at Eaton: but the French cabinet refused to acknowledge the mission of Throckmorton, and, by way of retaliation, confined Smith in the castle of Melun. The release of de Foix was followed by that of the two Englishmen: and the queen, dissembling her resentment, renewed their powers and instructions. But the proposal of peace which they made was received with the most contemptuous indifference: five months were suffered to elapse before they could obtain a satisfactory answer; and, when at last the conferences were opened, though Smith experienced the usual treatment of an ambassador, Throckmorton was never admitted into the presence of the king or of his mother. No mention was made of the restitution of Calais to England. The one party would not suffer it: the other dared not urge it, because it was plain from the treaty of Cateau that Elizabeth had forfeited her claim to the recovery of the place, by landing a hostile army in France†. But she still had in her power the French hostages, and their bonds for the sum of 500,000 crowns: and after a long discussion it was agreed that the hostages should be exchanged for

month's detention, was allowed to return to England. Forbes, ii. 37. 251. 306. Within a few days he made his way back to France, the bearer of 300,000 crowns from Elizabeth to the admiral. Feb. 18, 1563. Ibid. 334.

* Forbes, 420. 466. 477. 496. Strype, i. 329. *Mém. de Vieilleville*, c. xxvii—xxix. For the operations of the siege see Castelnau xlv. 52—7. *Mém. de Condé*, tom. iv. 560. *Discours au vrai de la reduction du Havre de Grace*. De Thou, ii. 351.

† Rymer, xv. 509.

Throckmorton; and that the queen should be content to receive payment of one-fourth of her original demand.

It was with pain that the haughty mind of Elizabeth submitted to conditions so humiliating, and so contrary to her previous expectations*. In her interview with Castelnau she had the weakness to betray her feelings, to the amusement of that ambassador and of his court. She declared, at first, that she would never accept of such a peace, but rather perpetuate the war; then she would make her commissioners pay with their heads for their presumption in exceeding their powers; afterwards she would approve the treaty, but through no other motive than respect and attachment to her dear brother and sister, the king of France, and the queen mother. In conclusion, she gave her ratification and her oath. Charles received from her the order of the garter; and in return, that of St. Michael was bestowed on two Englishmen, the duke of Norfolk, at the nomination of Elizabeth, and the lord Dudley her favourite, at the nomination of the French monarch†.

Here we may return to the transactions between the English and Scottish queens. When Mary took possession of her paternal throne, she was aware that from France, distracted as it was by civil and religious dissension, she could derive no support; and therefore had determined, with the advice of her uncles, to subdue by conciliation, if it were possible, the hostility of her former opponents. The lord James, her bastard brother, and Maitland, the apostate secretary, both high in the confidence of the congregationists, and both pensioners of the

* "Inwardly to me and other her counsellors she showed much mislike." Wright, l. 172.

† Rymer, xv. 640—648. Castelnau, *Mém.* lxiv. 100—105. Elizabeth, however, did not resign her claim to the restitution of Calais. At the expiration of the eight years Sir Tho. Smith, in Ap. 1567, appeared at the sea-gate, and demanded by trumpet the restoration of the place. On the refusal of the governor, he proceeded to the court. The speeches on both sides are recorded by Camden, but a second refusal was returned, and the English queen submitted to the disappointment. Strype's *Smith*, 95 Camden. 141.

- English queen, were appointed her principal ministers*; the friendship of Elizabeth was sought by compliments, and professions of attachment; and an epistolary correspondence was established between the two queens, between their respective minions, as they were called, the lord Robert Dudley, and the lord James Stuart, and between the English and Scottish secretaries, Cecil and Maitland. It was a distinguishing trait in the character of Mary, that she speedily forgot every injury. If we believe those who were not likely to be deceived, her friendship for Elizabeth was, or soon became, sincere†; while the English queen found it a difficult task to divest herself of her jealousies and prejudices against one, whom she still regarded as a competitor for her crown. On this account she continued to insist that
1561. Mary should ratify the treaty of Leith, particularly that
Oct. article which not only recognised the right of Elizabeth,
1. but also precluded the Scottish queen from assuming the arms or title of England. To the first of these points Mary offered no objection: but she contended, that
1562. to assent to the second would be a virtual renunciation
Jan. of her birthright, and an allowance of the claim made to
5. the succession by the house of Suffolk‡. Cecil, to com-

* Cecil to Sussex, Oct. 7. It has been said that the lord James was always ready to betray the secrets of his sister to Elizabeth: and there is too much reason to believe the charge, from many passages in the letters of Randolph, particularly in that of the 19th of June, 1563. Keith, 241. The same has also been objected against Maitland. I observe that, in his correspondence with Cecil, he appears anxious to obtain the favour of the English queen, but he also advocates the cause of his sovereign with the earnestness and ability of a faithful servant.

† Randolph feared that "Mary would never come to God, unless the queen's majesty should draw her." (Keith, 207.) Yet he repeatedly asserts, that he himself, the lord James, and Maitland, believed in the sincerity of her professions of friendship for Elizabeth. Keith, 195, 196, 203, 205, 209.

‡ "How prejudicial that treaty is to such title and interest as by birth and natural descent of your own lineage may fall to us, by the very inspection of the treaty itself you may easily perceive, and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapped up in obscure terms. We know how near we are descended of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us as it were a stranger from it. We trust, being so near your cousin, you would be loth we should receive so manifest an injury, as utterly to be debarred from that title, which in possibility may fall to us. We will deal frankly with you, and wish you

promise the difference, had suggested, that Mary on her part should acknowledge the right to the English crown to be vested in Elizabeth and the lawful heirs of her body; and that Elizabeth should declare on the other, that failing her own issue, the succession belonged of right to the queen of Scots*. With this arrangement the latter was satisfied: but when Maitland proposed it to Elizabeth, she replied, that the right of succession to her throne should never be made a subject of discussion: it would beget doubts and disputes, and each individual, according to his interest or partiality, would pronounce this or that marriage valid or invalid. Again, how, she asked, could she admit the right of Mary, without awakening in herself a feeling of dislike for her Scottish sister? Was it possible for any woman to love another whose interest it was to see her dead? Then, look at the inconstancy of men's affections. More are wont to worship the rising than the setting sun. It was so in the time of her sister the late queen; and it would be so again, if she were ever to declare her successor†. On the failure of this, another expedient was devised, a personal interview, which might enable the two queens to settle their differences in an amicable manner. It had long ago been suggested, and had of late been advo-

"to deal friendly with us. We will have, at this present, no judge of the equity of our demand but yourself." Haynes, 377. Keith, 213.

* It has been said that this proposal originated in a traitorous conspiracy between Cecil and Maitland, for the purpose of interrupting the incipient friendship between the two queens. (Compare Keith, 186, with Mr. Chalmers, i. 51.) The fact is, the project had been suggested to Elizabeth before Mary's return from France. On the 14th of July, Cecil wrote to Throckmorton—"there hath been a matter secretly thought of, which I dare communicate to you, although I mean never to be an author thereof." He then mentions it, and adds, "the queen's majesty knoweth of it, and so I will end." Hardwick papers, i. 174. When Maitland came to England, Cecil communicated it to him, by whom it was approved, and suggested to Elizabeth. She replied, "that the like was never demanded of any prince, to be declared his heir apparent in his own time." "The objection," he owned, "would appear reasonable, if the succession had remained untouched according to law; but, whereas, by a limitation, men had gone about to prevent the providence of God, and shift one into the place due to another, then could the party offended seek no less than the reformation thereof." *Ibid.* 373. Hence I see no ground for the charge of conspiracy.

† Spottiswood, 181. Matthien, *Hist. de François*, ii. 231.

cated by the lord James and Maitland, and by Cecil and Randolph, under the notion that it might lead to the adoption by Mary of the reformed worship; now, they argued, her pride disdained to yield to the menacing zeal of Knox and the ministers: then she could suffer herself, without disgrace, to be persuaded by the queen of England, an equal and a friend. Mary without suspicion accepted the proposal, and looked forward with pleasure to its accomplishment: the time and place were appointed: even a passport was signed for her and her retinue of one thousand horse. Suddenly Elizabeth hesitated, and then put off the interview till the following year, perhaps, as was suspected by some, through jealousy of the superior beauty of the Scottish queen, perhaps through apprehension of the influence which her presence might have on her partisans in England*.

In the autumn Elizabeth was dangerously ill; and it was rumoured that the council had determined, in case of her death, to pass by the Scottish queen, and to proclaim a successor from the house of Suffolk. On her recovery she was persuaded to summon a parliament; and the commons, probably at the secret suggestion of her ministers, presented to her an address, requesting her to marry, that she might have issue to inherit the crown and also to limit the succession, that the next heir might be known, if she were to die without chil-

* Haynes, 386. 388—393. Keith, 95. 205. 217—221. Cecil urged, among other objections against the interview, the following, which will surprise the reader: that the rains had made the roads impassable; that the queen's houses on the way from London to York were out of repair; and that provision of wine, fowl, and poultry, could not be made in so short a space as from the 20th of June to the end of August. Keith App. 158. On the 24th of August Mary ratified a new agreement for a meeting at York on the 20th of July next. *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, i. 150. In November Edinburgh was visited with a "newe dysease called the 'newe acquaintance'; which passed through the whole court, nether sparinge "lorde, ladie, nor damoyzell. Yt ys a payne in their heades that have yt, "and a soreness in their stomacks with a greate coughe. The queene "keapte her bedde vi. dayes. Ther was no appearance of daynger, nor "manie that die of the dysease, excepte some olde folks." Stevenson, p. 103.

dren to survive her. At the same time she was reminded of the attempts of foreign powers to set up a competitor against herself, and of the danger to the reformed faith, if a catholic should succeed. These remarks were evidently pointed against Mary Stuart, who had already sent her secretary Maitland to London Feb. to advocate her claim: but that was in the present in- 12. stance protected, if not by the justice, at least by the caprice of Elizabeth, who resented the interference of the commons in a concern which she deemed exclusively her own. It was with reluctance that she consented to receive the petition: when they reminded her of an answer, she reprimanded them for their impatience; and at the close of the session she replied, in quaint and unsatisfactory language, "because I will discharge Apr. 10. "some restless heads, in whose brains the needless "hammers beat with vain judgment, that I should dis- "like this their petition; I say, that of the matter, some "thereof I like and allow very well; as to the circum- "stances, if any be, I mean upon further advice further "to answer*."

In a few months the jealousy or policy of Elizabeth was called into action by a communication from Mary, stating that she had received a proposal of marriage from the archduke Charles. The events and the result of the war of religion in Scotland had taught the Catholics of that country to look towards Philip of Spain as the only prince willing and able to protect them against the intolerance of the Scottish reformers, and the hostility of the English cabinet. Of his willingness there could not be a doubt, from his well-known attachment to the ancient faith; in point of power, no monarch in Christendom was, at that period, able to compete with him; and his possession of the Netherlands would furnish him

* Keith, 234—7. *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 83. D'Ewes, 81.

with the opportunity of pouring troops into Scotland whenever they might be required. Now, to secure his protection there was an obvious expedient,—the marriage of his son Don Carlos with their youthful sovereign. This project had long been discussed among them*. Mary herself had of late expressed herself favourably disposed towards it; and Maitland,—whether with her privity or not is unknown,—had, during the sitting of parliament in London, requested a secret interview with Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, and opened the matter to him, with an enumeration of the beneficial consequences which might be anticipated from it†. When Philip received the report of Quadra, he expressed his readiness to enter on an immediate negotiation respecting the terms of the marriage; but in a few weeks he began to hesitate, alleging the character of his son,—probably the young prince had already betrayed symptoms of that derangement which led to his untimely end,—and a notion that the queen would provide better for herself, and the cause which she espoused, by accepting the offer already made to her by his cousin Charles, archduke of Austria‡. Still, the correspondence between Mary and Philip continued on this subject for almost two years, with the greatest possible secrecy§, but without much earnestness on either part; the king growing more and more dissatisfied with the violent and eccentric

* Gonzales. Apuntamientos, p. 41.

† Ibid. p. 51.

‡ Ibid. p. 52. Por la disposicion de su hijo.

§ Mary appears to have written no letters on this subject, but to have trusted entirely to the good faith of two or three agents, who passed to the Low Countries, ostensibly on matters of business, but in reality to deliver messages from her to the cardinal Granville, or her aunt the duchess of Arschot, or to receive from them, by word of mouth, the answers of Philip. To show that they deserved credit, they took with them letters to the cardinal or the duchess, generally of mere compliment, and never of real business. See several of these in the *Lettres de Marie*, i. 197. 200. 204. 206, et seq.

behaviour of his son, and the queen being convinced that, if the marriage were to be effected, she must bid adieu to all hope of succeeding, as next in the order of inheritance, to the crown of England, in the event of the death of Elizabeth*.

But if the Scottish queen kept secret the project of a marriage with Don Carlos, she deemed it proper to inform her English sister that she had received a proposal from the Austrian archduke, formerly the wooer of Elizabeth. The announcement called into action all the ingenuity of Cecil. To prevent the match, he devised two plans, which were instantly carried into effect. By the first, Elizabeth was brought forward as a rival to Mary; nor did her vanity entertain a doubt that the archduke would prefer her charms with her crown to those of her Scottish sister. But from whom was the proposal to originate? It did not seem consistent with female delicacy that the queen should be the first to woo; and it could not be expected that Charles, who had already been rejected, should expose himself to a second refusal. Cecil wrote to Mundt, one of the pensionaries in Germany. Mundt applied to the Aug. duke of Wirtemberg, and that prince, as of him- 25. self, solicited the emperor to make a second offer Oct. 13. of his son to the English queen. But Ferdinand Oct. 17. replied, that he had once been duped by the selfish and insincere policy of Elizabeth, and that he would Dec. not expose himself to similar treatment a second time†.

The other plan was to induce Mary, by threats and promises, to refuse the archduke. For this purpose Randolph returned to Scotland, with instructions to

* *Lettres de Marie*, p 248.

† *Haynes*, 405. 407, 408.

1563. read to her a long lecture on the choice of a husband. Elizabeth, he told her, preferred a single life; Aug. band. but was not displeased that her younger sister should entertain thoughts of marriage. But she should bear in mind that her destined husband ought to have three recommendations: he should be one whom she could love; one whom her subjects could approve; and one who was likely to preserve and augment the friendship existing between the two crowns. But was Charles of Austria such a person? The very fact that he had been proposed by the cardinal of Lorraine showed that he was thought the enemy of England. Let Mary recollect that the success of her claim to the succession depended on the choice of her husband. If she forfeited it, she must blame only herself*.

This ambiguous menace induced the Scottish queen to ask who it was that her English sister would recommend, and in what manner she was willing to favour her claim. The questions were forwarded to Cecil, and drew from him a new set of instructions to Randolph: to describe, in the first place, to Mary the Nov. 17. qualities which her future husband ought *not* to possess.

* Keith, 242. I may here mention that Chastellet, a French gentleman in the suite of the marshal Damville when he accompanied Mary from France to Scotland, returned to Edinburgh in November, 1562, and presented to her a letter from the marshal, with a book of poetry of his own composition. By Mary, who wrote poetry herself, the book was graciously received; she gave him a horse in return; and occasionally conversed with him, probably on their common studies. About the end of January this man was discovered one evening under the queen's bed, armed with a sword and a dagger. She was not acquainted with the fact till the next morning, when she forbade him ever more to appear in her presence. But he followed the court to Dunfermline and Brunt Island, and late in the evening burst into her bedchamber, where she was undressing with two female attendants. Their cries immediately brought assistance. Chastellet was secured, and pretended that he had come to apologise for his former misconduct. The man was evidently mad; and the queen, when her fright had subsided, was inclined to pardon him; but the council hurried him away to St. Andrew's, where his head was struck off in the market-place. Though Chastellet's conduct could not inculpate Mary, yet the tongue of slander was not silent on this occasion. See Keith, 231. Stevenson, Illustrations, 102. Raumer, iii. 20. Tytler, vi. 319.

1563.
Feb.
13.

sess; then to direct her attention to some British nobleman, without naming any individual; and, lastly, to inform her that the proceedings with respect to her claim would depend on the satisfaction which she might give by her marriage. But the queen would not appear to understand the hint: her English sister had plainly some one in view for her. Who was he? Randolph hesitated, but revealed the important secret to the lord James, lately created earl of Murray, and to secretary Maitland, that the husband destined for their sovereign was the lord Robert Dudley, the minion of Elizabeth. By degrees it was suffered to transpire, and then was officially communicated to Mary. She replied, as had already been¹⁵⁶⁴ concerted between her and the queen-mother of France, Mar that she thought it beneath her dignity to marry a³⁰ subject; and hinted through Murray to the envoy, that she looked on the offer of a person so dear to Elizabeth as "a proof of good will rather than of good meaning*."

This offer soon became the subject of public conversation. By Dudley himself it was attributed to the policy of Cecil, who, jealous of his superior influence, wished to remove him from the English court. But the general impression was that Elizabeth looked for a refusal. He was too necessary for her comfort or her pleasures to allow her to resign him to another woman†. It was even suspected that she intended

* Keith, 245—252. Some had already selected the duke of Norfolk. Keith, 261.

† Melville, 51. "Mary asked me, whether I thought that the queen meant truly towards her, inwardly in her heart as she appeared to do outwardly in her speech. I answered freely, that in my judgment there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning. This appeared to me, by her offering unto her, with great appearing earnestness, my lord of Leicester, whom I knew, at that time, *she could not want*." Ibid. 53. "How unwilling the queen's majesty herself would be to part from him, and how hardly his mind could be divorced or drawn from that worthy room where it is placed, let any man see." Randolph to Cecil, in Keith, 251, and Tytler, vi. 337. Ce n'estoit que pour m'abuser, et retarder les

to marry him herself. If he were judged fit to be the husband of one queen, he was equally fit to be the husband of the other*.

If he were judged fit to be the husband of one queen, he was equally fit to be the husband of the other*.

Mary, by the advice of her council, had condescended in part to the pleasure of her English sister. She had refused every foreign suitor, the infant of Spain, the archduke of Austria, the prince of Condé, and the dukes of Ferrara, Anjou, Orleans, and Nemours. But was she then to marry the lord Dudley? To him she felt the strongest repugnance; and was strengthened in her aversion by the suggestions of Murray, who is represented as aspiring to the succession himself, and therefore interested in keeping his sister unmarried †. In a short time the lord Darnley was set up as a rival to Dudley. During the debate on the succession in the English parliament, all parties had agreed that the next heir was to be sought among the descendants either of Margaret the elder, or of Mary the younger, sister of Henry VIII. The Scottish queen was undoubtedly the rightful representative of Margaret; but there were some who contended for her exclusion in favour of the countess of Lennox, the daughter of that princess by her second husband, the earl of Angus. Darnley was the eldest son of the countess; and it was represented to Mary that a marriage with him could not be degrading, since he was sprung by the father from the kings of Scotland, by the mother from those of England; that it would satisfy the demands of Elizabeth, since he had been born in her dominions, and was heir to the lands which his father held of the English crown; and that it would strengthen her claim to the succession, since all the rights of the descendants of Margaret, in both lines, would centre in her and her husband ‡. The idea had

autres, ce que Lecestre luy mesmes me mandoit pars oubs mayn par le moyen de Randel. *Lettres*, i. 297.

* Randolph's letter in Keith, 260.

† Murray had attempted to obtain an entail of the crown on himself and others of the name of Stuart. Goodall, i. 199. ii. 358. Chalmers, ii. 435. Camden, i. 132.

‡ See note (L).

been first suggested by the countess of Lennox. Mary April appeared to listen to it with a willing ear; and the in- 14. telligence was immediately conveyed to Elizabeth*.

If the conduct of the English queen had been enigmatical before, it became from this period still more inexplicable. At her request the earl of Lennox, who had July now been in exile twenty years, had solicited and obtained 5. permission of the Scottish queen to revisit his native country. Unexpectedly Elizabeth desired Mary not to admit him into her dominions, then gave him both a Sept. licence to proceed to Scotland, and a letter of recommen- 1. dation to the queen, and afterwards complained of the gracious reception which he had experienced in conse- Oct. quence of her own request. In like manner, she urged 20. again the projected marriage with Dudley, and created him earl of Leicester, that he might appear more worthy of a royal consort†. Mary frankly owned to the ambassador that she suspected the sincerity of the offer. Elizabeth, she understood, had fixed on Leicester for her own husband; but thought it more dignified to wait till some other princess had previously made to him the offer of her hand. She professed, however, a willingness to be guided, in a matter of so much consequence, by the wisdom of her advisers; and a negociation was opened Nov between Murray and Maitland on the one part, and the 18. earl of Bedford and Randolph on the other. The former demanded that Mary's right to the succession should be acknowledged, and inquired what additional honours would be conferred on Leicester, to render him a fit consort for a queen of Scotland: the latter refused to bind their sovereign by any engagement, or to disclose her intentions with respect to Leicester, till Mary had abso-

* "I understand she will cast anchor between Dover and Barwick, though not perchance in that parte we wish for." Randolph apud Keith, 252.

† Melville (p. 47.) thus describes the creation of the earl of Leicester. "This was done at Westminster with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting on his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador and I standing by."

lutely accepted the proposal*. Thus the matter hung in suspense, till Elizabeth, to the surprise of most men, 1565. though she had previously refused, allowed Darnley, the Feb. reputed rival of Leicester, to proceed to the Scottish 16. court with letters of recommendation both from herself, and from that nobleman†.

The charms of Mary were sufficient, without the attractions of royalty, to captivate the young Darnley: but he had come prepared to woo, and, after a decent interval, he made to the queen a proposal of marriage. She checked his presumption, and refused the ring which he offered‡: but his pretensions were soon aided by the Mar. importunity of Elizabeth, who again required the consent of Mary to a marriage with Leicester, promising in 5. return to take her claim to the succession into consideration, as soon as she herself had made up her own mind, 17. whether to remain single or not. At the receipt of this message the Scottish queen burst into tears. It was, she said, treating her as if she were a child: an attempt to bind her irrevocably for the sake of an illusory promise in return. But she soon acted with more spirit. She no longer concealed her partiality for Darnley; her counselors approved the choice of their sovereign; Murray, who April 7. felt that the reins of government were slipping from his grasp, withdrew from the court; and Maitland, who professed himself a warm advocate of the match, informed 18. Elizabeth that her Scottish sister had come to the de-

* In December Murray and Maitland wrote to inquire of Cecil whether Elizabeth really wished their sovereign to marry Leicester, and in the beginning of February, Randolph required of Mary a positive answer whether she would take him or not: she replied, "Such a one as the queen your mistress, my good sister, does so well like to be her husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to dislike me to be mine. Marry! What I shall do lieth in your mistress' will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me." Keith, 269. Tyler, vi. 367.

† Randolph, Nov. 7. 12. 23. Keith, 253. 255. 259. Cecil had at last persuaded himself that Elizabeth seriously wished Leicester to marry Mary, that she herself might marry a foreign prince. (Ellis, 2 ser. ii. 294). The earl, however, preferred the chance of marrying his own sovereign. Ipse spe potius Elizabethæ plenius, clandestinis literis Bedfordium submonuit, ne rem urgeret, et in spem istam Darnley occulte favisse creditur. Camden, 113.

‡ Melville, 56.

termination of making Darnley the partner of her bed and her throne*.

This announcement surprised and irritated the English queen; for the former despatches of Randolph had led her to expect a different result. Consultation followed consultation; the countess of Lennox was confined to her chamber, and five weeks afterwards transferred to the Tower; her husband and son received orders to return to England under the penalty of forfeiture; a letter subscribed by thirteen counsellors was forwarded to Mary, describing the inconveniences and impolicy of her intended marriage; and the wily Throckmorton was despatched with new instructions as ambassador extraordinary to Scotland. To be prepared for his arrival Mary solicited the approbation of the Scottish nobility: Murray refused; but thirteen subscribed the instrument, and Darnley was created by the queen earl of Ross. She then admitted Throckmorton; but it was in vain that he argued, promised, or threatened. "I might," said Mary, "have married into the royal houses of Austria, France, or Spain: but I passed them by to please your mistress, and selected for my husband one who is not only her subject, but even her kinsman. Why is she offended? However, it is now too late to retract, for I have pledged my word. Yet this will I do: I will defer the ceremony for three months: before the expiration of which, my sister's repugnance will, I trust, be removed." The ambassador was then dismissed with the present of a gold chain; and informed Elizabeth that nothing short of "violence" could break the intended marriage†. His departure was followed by the arrival of a more welcome messenger, Castelnau, the bearer of

* See Cecil's extracts from Randolph's letters in Keith, 158, and Stevenson, 134. A fuller "report" of the letter of March 20 has been published by Von Raumer, iii. 42: but, to prevent misconception, the letter itself should be consulted, which will be found in Keith, 270-4, and Wright, i. 189.

† See the several documents in Stevenson, 115-117. 134-140, and Keith, 274, 6.

the approbation and consent of the king of France and the queen-mother *.

By the "violence" of which he spoke, Throckmorton alluded to the designs of Murray and his friends. When that nobleman withdrew from the court, he pretended that he could not in conscience remain where idolatry was openly tolerated: his real object, if we may judge from his conduct, was, that he might with greater facility organize a formidable opposition to the marriage. Nor was it without reason that he looked for success. He was sure of the powerful aid of Cecil in the English cabinet; of the services of Randolph, the resident, who thought himself the confidant, whilst he appears to have been the dupe, of the Scotsman †; of the co-operation of Hamilton, Argyle, and all those who deemed themselves aggrieved by the restoration of Lennox to his patrimony, and who feared the aggrandizement of a rival and hostile family; and also—without which the rest could be of little avail—of the assistance to be derived from that spirit of fanatical intolerance which animated the whole body of the kirkmen. To bring this spirit into action "the evangel" was declared in danger: the protestants were summoned for the defence of their religion to a convention in Edinburgh; slanderous tales of the intimacy between Mary and Darnley were circulated: he, with respect to his morals, and character, and religious opinions, was held out to public execration; of her it was said that she was bewitched, that the names of the parties were known, and the tokens, rings, and bracelets, inscribed with mysterious characters, discovered; and all true Scotsmen were called upon to rescue the sovereign

* "Il ne faut pas demander," says Castelnau, "si je fus bien reçu de ces deux amans, puis que j'avois de quoi contenter leurs affections." Castelnau, 295.

† The letters of this envoy disclose the secret connexion of Murray with the English cabinet, even while he was prime minister. One instance out of many may suffice. Randolph advises Cecil not to open any more letters directed to Mary in their passage through England, but to send all suspected letters to Murray "of whose service the queen of England is sure," 19 June, 1563. Keith, 241.

from shame, the crown from dishonour, and the nation from ruin. So great was the excitement produced, that the English resident ventured to predict the assassination of the new earl of Ross, and to assure his sovereign, that, if she sought to annex Scotland to her own dominions, the present moment offered the most tempting prospect of success*.

Mary had summoned the Scottish nobles to meet her at Perth: Murray and his friends refused to obey; he, under the pretence of danger to his life from the malice of the earl of Ross; they, that they might attend the general assembly of the kirk at Edinburgh. To the more influential members of that assembly Randolph communicated a paper signed by Elizabeth, in which she exhorted them to provide for the safety of their religion and the continuance of the amity between the two kingdoms, and promised them her powerful support, as long as they should confine their efforts to the prosecution of those objects. Animated by this assurance, the kirk presented to Mary, under the modest name of a supplication, an admonition that the practice of idolatry could not be tolerated in the sovereign any more than in the subject†. The reader may judge of her feelings at the receipt of this insulting address: but they soon gave way to an alarm of a still more serious nature. She received secret advice that it was the intention of the discontented lords to make her their prisoner with Lennox and his son, on the afternoon of the following day, when she would be on her road to Callendar, to assist at the baptism of a child of Lord Livingstone: and it was remarked, as a confirmation of the intelligence, that they occupied positions the most convenient for such an enter-

* Keith, 232. Raumer, 52. Tytler, vi. 403. Randolph was now satisfied that "his credit at the Scottish court was utterly decayed;" and throws out hints of dishonourable tales, which, however, he will not particularize, "that he may not write an unverity."—It is laughable to observe the change in the style of his letters. Whilst Murray governed for his sister, Randolph was the willing herald of Mary's praise: but, from the moment that Murray turned against her, Randolph's letters are filled with dark insinuations or open charges to her prejudice.

† Randolph, July 2. Keith, 235. and 541. 545.

prise, the duke being at Kinneil, Murray at Lochlevin, Argyle at Castle Campbell, and Rothes at the Parret-wall. Her resolution was soon taken. Mounting on horseback at five on the Sunday morning, and being escorted by Athole, Ruthven, and the lords of the court, she threaded her way through Kinross to Callendar with such rapidity, that she was out of danger long before her arrival had been expected*.

1. Two hours later, Argyle and Boyd met Murray at Lochlevin. But the opportunity was lost: and after some deliberation they authorised Randolph to inform his mistress that the Scottish queen had been alarmed without just cause; that they now saw the necessity of levying an armed force for the preservation of religion, and of the connexion with England; that the expense compelled them to ask from her an aid of 3000*l.*, and that they would make it their object to seize the persons of Lennox and his son, and to deliver them to her officers†.
4. Mary on the other hand proceeded to Edinburgh, where, to free herself from the state of uncertainty in which she had so long lived, she was a few days
9. later privately married to the young Stuart. This decisive step brought with it one inconvenience. The men who watched her conduct soon espied the increased intimacy between the parties; their reports confirmed the tales previously circulated; and the zealots affected to look with horror on the supposed harlotry of their sovereign‡.

* Randolph, July 4. Keith, 291. That this was a real conspiracy was not only maintained at the time, but also in 1563 by thirty-five noblemen, including Argyle, one of the persons accused. Goodall, ii. 353. Mary also writes to the French ambassador that she can prove it by the evidence of one hundred gentlemen of the party to whom she granted a pardon. Lettres, i. 304. On July 7th, it was even rumoured in London that it had succeeded. In Cecil's diary appears this entry. "July 7. A rumour spread that the queen of Scots should be taken by the lords Argyle and Murray." Murdin, 759.

† That they communicated their resolutions by a special messenger to Randolph, is clear from their letter to him in Stevenson, 113. What these resolutions were may be inferred from his letter of the 4th. Keith, 291.

‡ Cecil tells us that the marriage was on the 9th, and that "they went from Hollyroode howse to the lord Seton's house to bedd." Keith, 161. Stevenson, 141. Randolph, who knew not then of the marriage, remarks: "The whole day was solemnised, as I do believe, to some divine God, for such quietness was in courte that fewe coulede be seen, and fewe sufferde

Both parties now began to prepare for the approaching struggle. The lords met at Stirling, and subscribed a bond to stand by each other: a messenger was despatched the next day to Elizabeth, to remind her of her promise, and to solicit speedy and effectual aid; and their emissaries were instructed to inform the people that the profession of the gospel, and the life of Murray, the great support of that profession, were in danger from the machinations of the court. In opposition to these reports, Lennox declared that neither he nor his son had ever sought the death of Murray: both tendered to him the hand of friendship; and Lennox offered to fight the liar who should venture to repeat the charge. Mary on her part ordered Murray on his allegiance to bring forth his proofs; and, that he might do it without fear, sent to him a safe-conduct for himself and eighty others, both coming and returning*. At the same time she denied, by proclamation, that the thought of "impeding" or molesting others in using of their religion or consciences freely" had ever entered her mind; and July 16. called on her faithful subjects to come to the assistance of their sovereign†. This summons was cheerfully obeyed; and the number of those who offered their ser-

"to enter." At eight in the evening the queen set out with no other female attendant but the lady Erskine, "whereupon rose manie fowle tales." On their return, two days afterwards, "she and my lord Darlye" walked up and downe the towne dysguysed, untill supper tyme. These "vagaries make men's tongues chaiter." Stevenson, 119. 120. He first heard of the marriage on the 16th. See Note (M).

* See the original documents in Keith, App. 108-9, and Randolph on the 19th July, in Keith, 302. "Whether yt be trewe or not that the lord Gray should have done yt (the murder), I knowe not: but by him I here saye yt is come forth." Ibid. It was plainly a pretext.

† Keith, 299. She adds, "As alsua, gif it sal happin ws to have to do owthir with *oure auld inymeis* or utherws, we luk to be certift be you presentlie in writte quhat we may lippin for at your'e hands." Ibid. By "*auld inymeis*" Mary undoubtedly meant the English borderers, to whom Murray had lately made application for assistance. Randolph was careful to represent these words as a reflection on Elizabeth, whose subjects they were. "In the wch. your honour maye note in what credit the Q. matie. our mestres is yet in, that she cane be contente to use thys terme (our olde enemies)." He did not, however, charge Mary with calling Elizabeth herself an old enemy, as by some mistake he is made to do in Von Raumer, iii. 58. See the original letter in Cott. MSS. Cal. B. x. fol. 318. b. It was published by Keith, 300-3. There is another without the obnoxious passage, published in the *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, i. 275.

vices encouraged her to throw off her former reserve, and acknowledge her choice of Darnley. She ordered the banns to be published, created him duke of Albany, and was married openly to him in the chapel of Holyrood house, by the bishop of Brechin. Proclamation was made that he should be styled king during the time of their marriage, and that all writs should run in the joint names of Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland. He was in his twentieth, she had reached her twenty-third year*.

It was now time that Elizabeth should redeem her pledge. She had ordered a sum of money to be forwarded to Murray; had reinforced the garrison of Berwick with two thousand men; and had named the earls of Shrewsbury and Bedford her lieutenants in the northern counties. But it was plain that, if she wished to extricate her Scottish friends from the danger into which her promises had led them, it would be necessary to make more powerful efforts. She shrunk, however, from the infamy of being the aggressor in a war which the rest of Europe would not fail to attribute to female pique, and unjustifiable resentment; and in place of an armed force she sent Tamworth to Scotland, furnished with commands, recriminations, and threats. But the Scottish queen assumed a spirited and decisive tone. She compelled the messenger to deliver his charge in writing, and answered every article in the same manner, requesting her English sister to be content with the government of her own dominions, and to respect in other sovereigns that independence which she claimed for herself. When Tamworth took leave, he refused the passport which was offered, because it had been signed by Henry as well as Mary: but, to punish the refusal, she ordered the lord Home to apprehend him on his road as a vagrant, and to dismiss him after a confinement of two days. Randolph complained: but she answered, that,

* Keith, 306, 7. *Lettres de Marie*, i. 377.

unless he ceased to intrigue with her discontented subjects, he would also meet with similar treatment *. 27.

The associated lords now saw that they were left to their own resources. Unable to withstand the superior force of the royalists, they retired, some towards Ayr, some towards Argyleshire: but the latter, when Henry and Mary left Glasgow, doubling on their pursuers, reached by a rapid march the city of Edinburgh. This momentary success, however, disclosed to them the hopelessness of their cause. None of their former friends dared to join them; and in two days the fire from the castle and the approach of the royal army compelled them, in number 1500 horsemen, to quit the capital, and flee to Dumfries. A month intervened, which was chiefly spent in messages between the parties, and adverse and irritating proclamations. A band of ruffians was organized, under an engagement "to kill Darnley or die themselves †:" but no sooner were the royalists in march against Dumfries, than the rebel force disbanded, and their chiefs accepted the asylum which the

* Keith, 310, App. 99. 162—4. Stevenson, 131. He did meet with similar treatment. In the following February it was proved, in presence of Mary and her council, that in August he had sent four thousand crowns to lady Murray at St. Andrew's, for the use of her lord. He replied that he should answer for his conduct to no one but his own mistress. Mary sent him to England, and acquainted Elizabeth with the reason. *Lettres de Marie*, i. 325.

† Keith, App. 164. Stevenson, 144. Murdin, 759. There was certainly enough in the public conduct of Murray at this period to account for Mary's hostility to him; but Randolph, on Aug. 27, hinted to Cecil that he suspected another and more secret cause; and now that his friend was seeking an asylum in England, he described that cause in the following enigmatical manner: "She knoweth that he understandeth some such secret part (not to be named for reverence sake) that standeth not with her honour; which he so much detesteth, being her brother, that neither can he show himself as he hath done, nor she think of him as of one whom she mortally hateth. Here is the mischief; this is the grief; and how this may be salved and repaired, it passeth, I trow, man's wit to consider. This reverence for all that he hath to his sovereign that I am sure there are very few that know this grief (*sic*): and to have this obloquy and reproach of her removed that is now common (*come*). I believe he would quit his country for all the days of his life." I shall not notice the odious interpretation which Mr. Von Raumer has put on this passage (p. 69), because it is not supported by a single atom of evidence. There can be little doubt that Randolph alluded to the report of Mary's too great intimacy with Riccio, which report had been lately spread by the partisans of Murray. But whatever it was, Randolph himself soon discovered that "the grief which could not be salved and repaired" no longer existed, and that the objection to the pardon of Murray came, not as he had supposed, from the queen, but from her husband. Keith, App. 165. Stevenson, 151.

earl of Bedford had prepared for them in Carlisle. Murray was allowed to proceed to London. At first Elizabeth refused to see him; afterwards he was admitted in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, when, falling on his knees, he acknowledged that the queen was innocent of the conspiracy, and had never advised them to disobey their sovereign lady. "Now," she replied, "have ye spoken truth. Get from my presence, traitors as ye are." By this meanness he obtained from her a small pittance for his support at Berwick, though she obliged him to represent it as furnished by the charity of his English friends*.

But while the queen thus opposed every obstacle in her power to the marriage of Mary Stuart, she had been actively employed in seeking a husband for herself. From whatever cause her former repugnance had sprung, it was at length subdued by the clamour of the nation, the remonstrances of her counsellors, and her apprehension of additional danger from the claim of the Scottish queen, if that princess should have issue, while she herself remained childless. But she found it more easy to determine to marry, than to fix on the choice of a husband. Had she consulted her affection only, she would undoubtedly have given her hand to Leicester: but she had to contend with the disapprobation of her most trusty advisers, who appealed, and ultimately with success, to her pride, her suspicions, and her parsimony. Cecil, indeed, was too wily a courtier to commit himself by an avowed opposition: that office had been assumed by the earl of Sussex, who could rely on the co-operation of the duke of Norfolk and the whole house of Howard,

* Melville, 57. Notwithstanding the farce enacted before the two ambassadors, there are several letters extant, which prove, beyond contradiction, that Elizabeth was an accomplice in this conspiracy. I will cite only one from Murray to Cecil, of Oct. 14. "As for me and the remainder " here, I doubt not but you understand sufficiently, that neither they nor " I enterprised this action without forfeit of our sovereign's indignation, " but being moved thereto by the queen your sovereign and council's " hand-writing, directed to us thereupon; which being followed, all those " extremities followed, as were sufficiently foreseen." Apud Chalmers, ii. 330.

of the lord Hunsdon the queen's cousin, and of sir Thomas Heneage, vice-chamberlain, and a rising favourite. By their persuasions Elizabeth was brought to think seriously of a foreign husband; and occasionally, at least, to dispute the ascendancy which Leicester assumed over her. After the marriage of Mary, she gave him hints of her displeasure in enigmatic notes: he even thought proper to absent himself from court, whether it were in a fit of jealousy or at the royal command*. But their quarrels ended, as the quarrels of lovers generally end; and by each reconciliation his influence over her heart was confirmed. Publicly he affected to advocate the project of a foreign alliance; but privately he threw every obstacle in its way; and if he did not ultimately obtain the queen for himself, he succeeded at least in extinguishing the hope of every other suitor, whether native or foreigner.

Of foreigners, the only prince towards whom she looked with pleasure was her former suitor, the archduke Charles. The objections of the emperor had been subdued by the perseverance of the duke of Wirtemberg; but the death of that prince interrupted the negotiation †; and Elizabeth, attributing the indifference which he had manifested to the report of her familiarity with

* Compare Mardin, 769, with Strype, 475, and Camden, 118. Cecil in Wright, i. 209. "Her favour to my lord of Leicester is not so manifest as 'it was, to move men to think that she will marry with him.'" While Leicester was absent, it was reported that some other favourite supplied his place. "Upon these rumours," says Cecil, "I affirm, that the queen 'may be by malicious tongues not well reported; but, in truth, she herself is blameless, and hath no spot of evil intent. Marry, there may 'lack, especially in so busy a world, circumspection to avoid all occasions.'" Strype, 4-1. She had at this time also a foreign female favourite. "The marquis of Baden, being gone home into Germany hath 'left here behinde him in the court the lady Cecilia his wife, with whose 'conversation the queene is so much delighted as she doth not only allow 'her honourable bouche at court, three messes of mente a day for each of 'her maides and the rest of her familie, but alsoe her maie, hath dealt 'so liberally with her husband, that he hath a yearlie pension of 2000 'crownes, which he is to enjoy as long as he suffereth his ladie to reside 'here in England.'" Allen to the earl of Shrewsbury, 11 Dec, 1565.

† "The queene hath been at great chariges with the *cæques* for the 'emperor, which began on Monday, and ended yesterday." Cecil to Smith, Oct. 4.

1564. Leicester, had ordered Cecil to write a letter to Mundt, Sept. in which, after a high encomium on the character of the

8. favourite, he was made to express his belief, that the queen loved him on account of his admirable qualifications, as a sister loves a brother, and that in their private meetings nothing was admitted inconsistent with female modesty and decorum *. Armed with a copy of this letter, the duke renewed his solicitations: but Maximilian, who had succeeded his father, displayed no eagerness for the marriage, and two years were suffered to elapse between the first overture from Cecil and the

1565. arrival of Swetkowitz, the imperial ambassador. He May. came ostensibly to restore the insignia of the garter worn by Ferdinand; in effect to discover the real disposition of the queen towards the archduke Charles. Her indecision immediately revived; one day she listened to Leicester, the next to Sussex; and these two noblemen, apprehending the resentment of each other, went constantly armed, and followed by armed men †. At last

June the ambassador was told that the articles of the marriage between Philip and Mary must be taken as the 4. basis of any future treaty: but that, as Elizabeth had Aug. 6. made a vow never to choose a husband whom she had not previously seen, it was indispensably requisite that Charles should pay a visit to the English court ‡. To this, as long as the result was doubtful, the pride of the emperor refused to submit, and the negociation was suspended for a considerable period.

The ambition of Leicester had never suffered him to despond: the turn which the proceedings had now taken gave a new impulse to his hopes and exertions.

* The history of this extraordinary letter seems to prove, that Cecil was not convinced of the truth of the assertions which he was compelled to make. He would not allow it to remain in the possession of Mundt, but, after he had submitted it to the inspection of the queen, added a postscript, in which he required Mundt to send it back to him. This was done, and when he received it back, he added to it a note, showing that he had written it by the express command of Elizabeth. Haynes, 420.

† Camden, 118. Murrin, 760.

‡ Haynes, 421—437.

Conceiving that the recommendation of a royal personage might weaken the objection drawn from his inferiority of birth, he solicited the aid of the queen regent of France; and Catherine, who had no wish to see an Austrian prince seated on the English throne, willingly accepted the office. She began by offering to her dear sister the hand of her son, the reigning monarch. Elizabeth, in a few days, replied, that Charles was both too great and too little: too great, for he would never quit his kingdom of France to live with her in England; too little, for he was only fourteen, she thirty years of age*. Moreover, she had reason to fear that her subjects would never suffer a French prince upon the English throne. This answer had been anticipated; and the ambassador was instructed to observe, that, after the rejection of Charles, the queen would never offer him the affront of selecting any other foreign prince; that there could be no difficulty in her marriage with one of her own subjects; and that the earl of Leicester was a nobleman whose great qualities rendered him worthy of her choice. She replied, that to marry at all would be like tearing her heart out of her body, and that, if she ever submitted to it, it would only be through a wish to consult the interests of her people†.

This answer did not discourage Leicester. Having waited on the secretary, and extorted from that wary statesman a promise of neutrality, he urged his suit to *Nov* the queen, conjuring her to make up her mind, and to relieve him from his anxiety. He asked for her final determination at Christmas: she promised it at *Candle-Dec.* mas. Candlemas came, and passed. Elizabeth was still 1566. irresolute; and Cecil hinted to her six important objec- *Apr.* tions to the marriage. 1°. Leicester would not bring with him riches, or power, or estimation; 2°. he was deeply involved in debt; 3°. he was surrounded by needy and rapacious dependents, who would engross the

* Castelnau, xliv. 126, 142.

† De Foy, apud Raumer, iii. 35

offices and favours of the crown; 4°. he was so violent and mutable in his passions, one day so jealous, the next so indifferent, that the queen could not expect to live happily with him; 5°. his reputation was tarnished by the tragic death of his former wife; and lastly, his marriage with his sovereign would be taken as full confirmation of the scandalous reports of their preceding amours, which had been so long and so confidently circulated. It was plain that some of these reasons had made impression on the mind of Elizabeth: the earl Aug. could not disguise his disappointment; and the queen, to console her lover, assured him that he still stood equally high in her estimation; that she was not yet resolved to marry at all, but that, if she ever did marry a subject, he should be the man*.

The advocates for a foreign prince had now obtained the ascendancy: and the earl of Sussex was despatched 1567. to the emperor Maximilian to resume the negotiation June with the archduke, but took with him a colleague, the 28. lord North, who had been bribed to betray to the favourite all the secrets of the negotiation†. Sussex forwarded to Elizabeth the most favourable description of Oct. 18. the person, the temper, and the capacity of the archduke‡; and obtained from that prince a promise that he would be content with the private celebration of mass for himself and his catholic servants; and would assist on occasions of ceremony at the new service in the company of the queen. But in the absence of Sussex, Leicester ruled without control; a council was called, and Dec. 10. an answer was returned, that if the archduke really aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, he must abandon without

* De Fov; and Haynes, 444.

† Camden, i. 418.

‡ Lodge, i. 366, 367. "Yf God coppell you together in lyking, you shall have of him a trewe husband, a loving companyon, a wise coun- celor, and a faythfull servant: and we shall have as virtuouse a prynce as ever ruled." Ibid. 372. Sussex, however, did not expect to prevail. Alluding to the secret opposition of Leicester, he says, "When I remem- ber who worke in this vyneyard, I can hardly hope of a good wyne yere: nevertheless I wylle do my parte, whyle I am here, and leave the reste to God." Ibid. i. 373.

reserve the religion of his fathers*. Charles, conceiving himself the dupe of the queen's dissimulation and policy, married Mary, the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria.

The history of the English is so interwoven with that of the Scottish queen, that it will again be necessary to revert to the extraordinary events, which took place in the neighbouring kingdom. Mary, in the ardour of her affection, had overlooked the defects in the character of her husband. Experience convinced her that he was capricious in his temper, violent in his passions, implacable in his resentments. He had already contracted habits of ebriety, which led him occasionally into the most scandalous excesses, and made him forget, even in public, the respect due to his consort†. But his ambition proved to her a source of more bitter disquietude. She had summoned a parliament for the twofold purpose of attaining the most guilty of the fugitive rebels, and of granting liberty of conscience for those among her subjects who, like herself, professed the ancient faith. But Darnley insisted that, in addition, the duke of Chastelherault and his partisans should be included in the attainder, and that a matrimonial crown should be granted to himself. By the first of these measures the rival house of Hamilton would have forfeited its right to the succession; by the second, the government would be secured to the king during the term of his natural life. But Mary refused: she was deaf to his entreaties,

* At this proposal the archduke exclaimed: "Howe, counte, cowlde you with reason gyve me counceill to be the fyrste of my race that so sodenly shoulde chaunge the religion that all my awncestors have so long holden. when I knowe no other; or how can the quene lyke of me in eny other thyng, that should be so lyght in chaungyng of my conseyence?— This is my only requeste: yf her matie. satysfye me in this, I wyll never slack to serve and satysfye her whyle I lyve, in all the reste. Ibid. 372.
† "Some say he is vicious: whereof too many were witnesses the other day at Inchkeith. I will not rehearse to your honour, what of certainty is said of him at his being there." At a public entertainment, Mary requested him not to drink to excess. "He gave her such words that she left the place in tears." See the letters of Randolph and Drury, in Keith, 329. App. 163. 165, 166. As early as Sep. 1. Cecil writes. "The young kyng is so insolent as his father is weary of his government, and is departed from the court." Ellis, 2 Ser. ii. 303. See also a letter, 1 Ser. ii. 200.

complaints, and menaces; and the discontented prince directed his resentment against those whom he supposed to be her advisers, and particularly against David Riccio, one of her secretaries.

Riccio was a native of Piedmont, who had come to Scotland in the suit of the ambassador of Savoy. At the request of that minister, the queen had appointed him one of the pages of the chamber, and, on the removal of Raulet, had advanced him to the office of secretary for the French language. All her correspondence with foreign princes passed through his hands: his address and fidelity obtained her approbation, and, on her marriage, he was appointed keeper of the privy purse to the king and queen. In this situation he soon earned the enmity of the former, by adhering to his mistress in every domestic quarrel, and, perhaps, by refusing to make advances of money without her authority. But in addition to Darnley, there were also many of the natives who viewed his preferment with displeasure. Riccio was a stranger and a catholic; two qualities calculated to excite the jealousy both of the courtiers and of the preachers*.

Besides the lords who had taken refuge in England, several others remained at court, who had been equally engaged in the conspiracy, but had not betrayed themselves by an overt act of rebellion. At the head of the latter were Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Maitland, who, sensible that their fate was linked with that of their associates, anxiously sought an opportunity of preventing the attainder with which they were threatened†.

* The industry of Mr. Chalmers (ii. 156) has traced, from the treasurer's accounts, the gradual advancement of Riccio, and has proved that he was never one of the queen's musicians, as is generally believed on the authority of Melville. But Melville's memoirs abound with tales, of which many are doubtful, many most certainly false.

† To account for the conduct of Morton, we are often told, on the very fallible authority of Knox, that the queen had taken the seals from the earl, and given them to her favourite Riccio. This fable is easily refuted. As early as the 12th of October, both Morton and Maitland, though resident at court, and members of the council, were secretly leagued with Murray. "They only espie their time," says Randolph, "and make

In January, Mary, in opposition to her husband, granted 1566. a pardon to the duke, on condition that he should reside for some years on the continent; and Maitland, relying Jan. on the discontent of the king, formed the project of inducing him to make common cause with the exiles. By 2. the agency of George Douglas, an illegitimate son of his uncle the late of earl Angus, it was suggested to him, that Mary had transferred her affections to Rizzio*; that the pardon of the Hamiltons, and the refusal of the matrimonial crown, had proceeded from the advice of that minion; and that the only expedient for him to obtain his just rights was to call in the aid of the expatriated lords. The inexperienced prince became the dupe of this interested advice, and cast himself into the arms of the men, who had hitherto professed themselves his enemies. Two bonds were prepared and subscribed, the one by Darnley, the other by Argyle, Murray, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree. Darnley engaged to prevent their attainer, to obtain their pardon, to support their Feb. religion, and to aid them in all their just quarrels: they 20.

"fair weather, till it shall come to the pinch." Apud Chalmers, ii. 464. Yet Morton was still chancellor on the 9th of the following April, the day of Rizzio's murder. Keith, App. 117. 128.

* In a letter from Bedford and Randolph, (Robertson, i. App. xv.) and in a short narrative supposed to be written by Lord Ruthven, but not published till after his death by Cecil, it is insinuated that Rizzio was the queen's paramour. There can be no doubt that this is a calumny. It is improbable in itself considering his age and person; it is not mentioned by Knox, whose charity would have rejoiced to advance such a charge against Mary; it is not even hinted by Darnley himself, when he was solicited by the council to make his complaints against her, and "not to spare her." Keith, 343. See also Tytler, ii. 4. I may add that both the letter and the narrative were got up for the occasion at the request of Cecil, and are therefore less deserving of credit. On the 20th of March he wrote to Randolph to advertise him "at good lengthe with the circumstances of those thyngs that were done at the tyme, and of the speeches betwixt the quene and them." He and Bedford write in return—"All that hitherto we have hearde, having conferred the reports from abroad which come to our knowlege, with the sayings of these noble men, the lord Morton and lord Ruthven, that are present, and of them all, that which we have founde neareste to the trothe, or as we beleve, the trothe self, have here put them in wryting." They add that Morton and Ruthven will shortly send an account themselves, conclude with an excuse for the indelicate language which they have attributed to the king and queen, and in a postscript add that Murray recommends them to Cecil as his "dere friends, and such as for *his sake* hathe given this adventure." Ellis, ii. 218.

to become his true subjects, friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies; to obtain for him the crown matrimonial during the whole of his life: for that purpose to take part with him "against all and whosoever that live and die might;" to maintain his just claim to the succession failing the lady Mary; to extirpate, or slay every gainsayer; and to use their influence with the queen of England, in favour of his mother and brother, "that they might be delivered out of ward*."

Mar. These engagements were followed by another still more
1. atrocious, in which Darnley avowed his determination to bring to punishment divers persons, especially an Italian called David, who abused the confidence of the queen; and, if there were any difficulty to proceed by way of law, "to take them and slay them wheresoever it might happen; and thenceforth bound himself and his heirs "to save scathless all earls, lords, barons, and other, "who should aid him in that enterprise†." The other persons, marked out for slaughter in this instrument were supposed to be the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol, the Lords Flemming and Livingston, and sir James Balfour‡.

Reports were again circulated, that "the evangel" was in danger; that Riccio was a secret agent from the pope, and that Mary had signed the holy league, by which, as was pretended, the catholic princes bound themselves to exterminate the protestants by a general massacre§. Most of the conspirators in Edinburgh were

* Goodall, i. 227—233.

† Ibid. 266. In this instrument "to call," means to proceed by law.

‡ Mary's letter in Keith, 333. Indictment of Yair in Arnot, App. 280.

§ Melville, 57. 63. Randolph, suspected that the queen had signed some league for the support of the catholic worship. Stevenson, 153. 9. She had undoubtedly received, by Clerneaux, a message from the pontiff, in which he exhorted her to constancy, recommended to her care the interests of the catholic faith in her realm, and requested her to send some of the Scottish prelates to the council of Trent. (Jebb, ii. 25.) Her answer may be seen in Plar. Con. Trid. iv. 660. She herself hoped at the parliament "to have done some good anent restoring the auld religion;" (Keith, 331) "which is explained by Randolph, that she will have mass free for all "men that will hear it." Cotton MSS. Col. B. 9. f. 232. This is the only ground on which it has been asserted that the Scottish queen had entered into a league for the extirpation of protestants.

leading members in the kirk, and had procured from the assembly the proclamation of a general fast, to be kept Mar from Sunday to Sunday on the week in which the parliament was to open. As if it were intended to prepare the minds of the godly for scenes of blood, and a revolution in the government, the service for each day was composed of lessons from the Old Testament, descriptive of the extirpation of idolatry, the punishment of wicked princes, and the visitations of God on his people, whenever they neglect the admonitions of the prophets*. On the Thursday of the fast, the queen with the nobility chose the Lords of the Articles : the statute of attainder was then drawn ; and the Tuesday following was fixed for the day on which it should be passed. But on the Saturday, Morton, between seven and eight in the evening, with eighty armed men, took possession of the gates of the palace. Mary, who was indisposed and in the seventh month of her pregnancy, was at the time seated at supper in the closet of her bed-chamber, with the commendator of Holyrood house and the countess of Argyle, her bastard brother and sister. Riccio, Erskine, captain of the guard, and Beaton, master of the household, were in attendance†. Suddenly the king entered by a private staircase, and placing himself next the queen, put his arm round her waist. He was followed by lord Ruthven, in complete armour, the master of Ruthven, Douglas, Ballentyne, and Kerr. Mary, alarmed at the sight of Ruthven, commanded him to quit the room, under the penalty of treason : but he replied, that his errand was with David ; and the unfortunate secretary, exclaiming “ Justitia, justitia ! ” sprung for protection behind his sovereign. Her prayers and gestures were despised. Ballentyne threatened her with his dagger ; Kerr presented his pistol to her breast ; and Douglas, snatching the king’s dirk struck over her shoulder, and left the weapon sticking in the back of Riccio. The table was thrown over

* Goodall, i. 247—250. 273.

† Cecil’s Ruthven makes Riccio to be seated at one end of the table. Keith, App. 123. Mary, in her letter, numbers him among her domestic servants in the room. Keith, 331.

in the struggle; and the assassins, dragging their victim through the bed-chamber, despatched him in the adjoining room, with no fewer than fifty-six wounds.

Mary's friends, ignorant of the affray in the closet, had hurried from their apartments to oppose Morton, and his band of armed followers. After some fighting, they were driven back: Huntley and Bothwell made their escape through the windows; the rest maintained themselves in different rooms, till they were allowed to depart, about two in the morning. At noon, Darnley, of his own authority, dissolved the parliament; and before evening, he was joined by Murray, and the exiles from Berwick. The following morning, the chiefs of the conspirators sate in secret consultation; and it was resolved to confine the queen in the castle of Stirling, till she should consent to approve in parliament of the late proceedings, to establish "the evangel" by law, and to give to her husband the crown matrimonial. After dinner, relying on the assurances of Darnley, they separated, and repaired to their respective dwellings in the city*.

Mary had passed the first night and day in fits and lamentations. She felt some relief from the kind expressions of her brother, the earl of Murray; and was no sooner left alone with her husband, than she resumed her former ascendancy, and convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct. Darnley's repentance rendered unnecessary the preparations which had been made by Huntley and Bothwell; and the same night, the king and queen, attended by the captain of the guard and two servants, secretly left the palace, and reached in safety the Castle of Dunbar†. The royal standard was

* Keith, 330. App. 119. Robertson, i. App. xv. Arnot, 378. 380. "After this manner," says Knox, "the noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rooms; and likewise the church reformed; and all that professed the evangel within this realm, after fasting and prayer, were delivered and freed from the apparent dangers which were like to have fallen upon them." Knox, Hist. 394. There can hardly be a doubt that both Knox and a brother minister, Craig, were of counsel in the perpetration of the murder. See Mr. Tytler's Scotland, vii. 354—362.

† On the same day the earl of Bedford, at Berwick, unaware of the turn

immediately unfurled: before the end of the week eight thousand faithful subjects had hastened to the aid of Mary; and as she approached Edinburgh, the murderers left the city, and fled with precipitation to Berwick. The English queen had been informed of the object of the conspiracy; she had even ordered three hundred pounds to be given to Murray before he left Berwick; but when she heard of the result, she sent her congratulations to her Scottish sister, and at her request commanded the assassins to leave the kingdom. But the messenger was instructed to remark, at the same time, that England was long and broad; and that they had nothing to fear, if they did not provoke inquiry by obtruding themselves on the notice of the public*.

Mary, with her characteristic facility, affected to believe the apology and protestations of her husband †, granted a full pardon to Murray and his companions, and, though a few of the minor criminals were punished with death, extended her mercy to several of the conspirators, who were not actually engaged in the murder. As the time of her delivery approached, she took up her residence in the castle of Edinburgh. Both Elizabeth and Murray, the people of England and the people of Scotland, looked forward with suspense and anxiety to

which took place that evening, wrote to Cecil, exulting "that every thing now would go well." Apud Chalmers, i. 167.

* Id. ii. 353. Their defence to the earl of Bedford may be seen in Stevenson, 169. They protest that in this murder "they mened no other thing but the establishinge of the religion, conservacion of the amytie betwixt the towne realmes, and the relief of their friends." Charles IX. of France, in a despatch to Fourquevaux, his ambassador in Spain, (8 Ap. 1566) says, that Mary had in several letters to her uncle the cardinal of Lorraine given a detailed account of this malheureuse tragedye . . . "que le marché, que avoient faict les meschans, qui en sont coupables, n'estoit pas seulement de tuer le secretaire, mais elle mesme, et l'enfant dont elle est grosse, avecques promesse de couronner son mari roy de la couronne matrimoniale, et après sa morte hereditaire. La pauvre dame dict d'avantage qu'elle a este traisnée, oultragée et emprisonnée, et estoit en telle estat quelle s'estimoit sans Royaume." From a copy of the despatch by H. Howard, Esq.

† He published a declaration of his innocence of the conspiracy. Keith, 334. It deceived no one, and lowered him in the estimation of all. Mary herself, though she had seen the bonds, says, she did always excuse him thereof, and was willing to appear as if she believed it not. Ibid. 350.

the result. It might give Mary an heir to her throne and her pretensions; it might, considering the distressing scenes through which she had passed, prove fatal both to the mother and the child. Murray excluded from the castle every person of eminence but his brother-in-law Argyle; and Elizabeth ordered Randolph, who
 May 27. for his connexion with the conspirators had been expelled from Scotland*, to linger in the neighbourhood of Berwick. At length their hopes, if they really cherished such guilty hopes, were disappointed. The
 June 19. Scottish queen was delivered of a son; and the child lived to ascend the thrones of both kingdoms. Elizabeth was dancing at Greenwich when Cecil whispered the intelligence in her ear. She instantly retired to her chair, reclined her head on her hand, and appeared for some time absorbed in profound thought. By the next morning her feelings were sufficiently subdued, and the messenger was admitted. She expressed her satisfaction at the happy event, accepted the office of gossip at the baptism, and appointed the earl of Bedford to assist in quality of her ambassador at the ceremony†.

In England the birth of the young prince, who was named James, was hailed with exultation by the advocates of the Scottish line: many who had appeared indifferent, as long as Mary remained childless, came forward in support of her cause; and Elizabeth herself, jealous of the good fortune of her sister queen, began to think seriously of marriage, that she also might have issue to inherit her crown. At the same time she grew

* Mary having obtained proofs that he had been active in all the conspiracies against her, ordered him to quit the kingdom; and wrote to excuse the measure to Elizabeth, "as his behaviour must have been besides (Elizabeth's) opinion, and tending to some other fine or purpose, nor that for the quhilk he was directed there by her." Keith, 344. Her chief complaint was that Randolph supplied her rebels with money; a complaint, the truth of which is attested by Randolph himself in Ellis, 2 Ser. iii. 124. At this time Mary's envoy to Elizabeth was Robert Melville: and Randolph in a confidential letter to Cecil complains that to him, through the thoughtless loquacity of the queen, the secrets of his despatches had been revealed, to his own discredit in Scotland, and to the manifest danger of their Scottish friends. Haynes, 447.

† Melville, 79.

more fixed in her resolution to keep the right of succession undecided, perhaps through apprehension of danger, more probably from the selfishness of ambition, which could not bear another so near the throne. Her obstinacy, however, was productive of one advantage to the nation: it put an end to that tame submission to the will of the sovereign, which had characterized and disgraced the parliaments under the dynasty of the Tudors. The discontent of the nation burst forth in defiance of every restraint imposed by the government; and the motives and obligations of the queen were discussed with a freedom of speech, which alarmed the court, and scandalized the advocates of arbitrary power.

After six prorogations poverty had compelled Elizabeth to summon a parliament. The lords of the council, aware of the national feeling, requested to be informed Oct. of her sentiments respecting marriage and the succession. She heard them with impatience. Her subjects, she said, from their experience of the past, might rely on her maternal solicitude for the future. They had no reason to complain of her government, unless it were on account of the war with France, the blame of which her councillors might take to themselves, since they had dragged her into it against her better judgment. As far as regarded her marriage, they were acquainted with the negociation into which she had entered: but as to her opinion respecting the succession, she should keep it locked up within her own breast. Let them go and perform their duties, and she would perform hers*.

As soon as the motion for a supply was made in the lower house, it was opposed, on the ground that the queen had not redeemed the pledge, on the faith of which the last grant had been voted: she had neither married, nor declared her successor. It was in vain that to subdue the opposition a royal message informed the house that she had resolved to marry. A vote was

* See a letter to the king of France, probably from the French ambassador, published by Mr. D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, 111. 118.

passed, that the business of the supply and of the succession should accompany each other*.

20. The upper house sent a deputation of twenty peers to
22. lay before the queen the evils resulting from her silence. She answered in an angry and imperious tone, that she did not choose that her grave should be dug while she was yet alive; that the commons had acted like rebels; they had behaved to her as they durst not have behaved to her father; that the lords might come to similar resolutions, if they pleased; their votes were but empty sounds without her assent. She would never confide such high and important interests to a multitude of hairbrained politicians, but meant to select six grave and discreet counsellors, and when she had heard their opinions, would acquaint the lords with her decision†.

This answer provoked several warm discussions in both houses. Sentiments were uttered, which for centuries had not been heard within those walls; that the tranquillity of the nation was not to be hazarded to lull the apprehensions of a weak and capricious woman; that the queen possessed her high dignity for the public benefit; and that, if she were negligent of her duty, it was the office of the lords and commons to compel her
27. to perform it. The earls of Pembroke and Leicester received a prohibition to appear in the royal presence. The duke of Norfolk, who, though he spoke with caution, was suspected of being the leader of the opposition, was marked out for imprisonment and prosecution‡.

The two houses now joined in a common petition, which was read to the queen by the lord keeper, in pre-

* D'Ewes, 124. D'Israeli, *ibid*.

† Lords' Journals, 635. D'Israeli, 119—121. Mr. D'Israeli thinks that the expression of digging her grave while yet alive alluded to her supposed objection to marriage, *ob nescio quam muliebrem impotentiam*. Camden, i. 123. It is however plain that both their petition and the answer refer not to the queen's marriage, but to the succession. Her meaning was explained by herself on another occasion. "I will not be buried while I am living, as my sister was. Do I not know, how during her life every one hastened to me at Hatfield? I am not inclined to see any such travellers." D'Israeli, *iii*. 114.

‡ Camden, 124, 125. Murdin, 762. D'Israeli, 121.

sence of a numerous deputation of lords and commoners. Nov.
 Her reply was delivered with great temper, but wrapped 5.
 as usual in affected obscurity of language. "If," she
 said, "any here doubt that I am by vow or determina-
 tion bent never to trade in that kind of life (marriage),
 "put out that kind of heresy, for your belief is therein
 "awry. For though I can think it best for a private
 "woman, yet I do strive with myself, to think it not
 "meet for a prince; and if I can bend my liking to your
 "need, I will not resist such a mind. As to the succes-
 "sion, the greatness of the cause, and the need of your
 "returns doth make me say, that which I think the wise
 "may easily guess, that as a short time for so long con-
 "tinuance, ought not to pass by rote, as many tell their
 "tales; even so, as cause by conference with the learned
 "shall show me matter worth the utterance for your be-
 "hoof, so shall I more gladly pursue your good after my
 "days, than with all my prayers, whilst I live, be means
 "to linger my living thread*." With this enigmatic 9.
 answer the commons were not content. But Elizabeth
 sent them an order to proceed to other matters. They
 maintained that the royal message was an infringement
 of their liberties; she repeated the command. They 12.
 obeyed with reluctance: but still allowed the bill for the
 subsidy, which had been read only once, to lie unnoticed
 on the table. The queen, after the pause of a fortnight,
 had the prudence to yield. She revoked her former 25.
 orders; she even submitted to court the favour of the
 people, by ordering the sum originally demanded to be
 reduced. After these concessions the public business
 proceeded; and, as soon as a fifteenth and tenth, with a
 subsidy, had been voted, the parliament was dissolved. 1567.
 On that occasion she took her leave of the two houses in Jan.
 a sarcastic and uncourteous speech, in which she warned 2.

* D'Ewes, 107. I have inserted this speech, to give the reader a specimen of the queen's eloquence. She seems to have thought it beneath her to speak officially in the language of ordinary men. On all similar occasions she employs such quaintness of expression and such studied obscurity, that it is almost always difficult to comprehend her meaning.

them never more to trifle with the patience of their sovereign*.

The parliament was scarcely dissolved, before the attention of Elizabeth was called towards Scotland, by a succession of events, scarcely to be paralleled in history. The murder of Riccio had disappointed the hopes of Darnley. Instead of obtaining the matrimonial crown, and with it the sovereign authority, he found himself without power or influence, an object of scorn to some, and of aversion to others. Mary, though she might forgive, could not forget the outrage which he had offered to her. Neglecting his advice, she formed a new administration, in which to Huntley, whom she had appointed chancellor, and Bothwell, the hereditary admiral of Scotland, she added her brother Murray, and Argyle, who had married the sister of Murray. There existed, in deed, several causes of dissension between Murray and Bothwell†; but she prevailed on them to be reconciled; and at their joint intercession, she pardoned Maitland, notwithstanding the warm opposition of Darnley. This imprudent prince threatened, in his vexation, to kill Murray; and soon afterwards absenting himself from court, refused to return, till three of the chief officers of state should be excluded from the royal councils. In

* D'Ewes, 117. Journals of Commons, 76. 78. Camden, 120. See suspected all who were warm on this subject of being more friendly to Mary than to her. "If," she says in a paper written by herself, "these fellows were well answered, and paid with lawful coin, there would be no more counterfeiters among them." See *Archæolog.* xviii. 212.

† As earl Bothwell will frequently claim the notice of the reader in the following pages, it will be proper to state that he succeeded his father Patrick in 1556. Though he was a protestant, he supported the queen's cause during the war with the lords of the congregation, and was the person who intercepted the money sent to them from Elizabeth. After the return of Mary to Scotland, he was imprisoned by order of Murray, but released on condition that he should quit the kingdom. In France he obtained the post of captain of the Scottish guard, but returned to his native country some time before the marriage with Darnley, and was now one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, being warden of the marches as well as high admiral. See a memorial, which, after his escape from Scotland in 1567, he addressed to the king of Denmark, on the eve of twelfth-day. It has been preserved in the royal Swedish library, at Stockholm, and was published in "Les Affaires du Comte de Bothwell." *Edin.* 1829. An English translation from which I shall quote hereafter was given in the *New Monthly Magazine* for June, 1825.

his residence at Stirling, he formed the capricious design Sept. of leaving the kingdom. Lennox, his father, unable to 22. dissuade him, wrote to the queen, at whose invitation he consented, though with reluctance, to repair to Edin- 29. burgh. Having endeavoured in vain to change his resolution, Mary led him before the council, and, holding him by the hand, conjured him to detail his complaints, and not to spare her, if she were the cause of offence. In his answer he exonerated her from all blame*; but on every other point was sullen and reserved. Returning, however, to Stirling, he acquainted her by letter that his grievances might be reduced to two heads; the want of authority, and the neglect which he experienced from the nobility. She replied, that the first proceeded from his own fault, since he had employed the authority with which she first intrusted him against herself; and that he could not expect the nobility to love and honour a prince, who never sought to deserve their affection or respect.

The queen, with the lords of the council, repaired to Oct. Jedburgh to hold the court, called the justice ayre †. 17

* Keith, 345. 351. At this time, and for two months before, Buchanan represents the queen as living in the most shameful adultery with Bothwell. Now it is impossible to reconcile such an assertion with the testimony of those who were present when Mary exhorted Darnley to explain his motives of discontent. "Her majesty said, that she had a clear conscience, that in all her life she had done no action which could any wise "prejudge his or her own honour: nevertheless, as she might, perhaps, "have given offence without design, she was willing to make amends as "far as he should require: and, therefore, prayed him not to dissemble "the occasion of his displeasure, if any he had, nor to spare her in the "least matter." He would not at all own that he intended any voyage, or had any discontent, and declared freely, "that the queen had not given "him any occasion for any." "We testify, as far as things could come to "our knowledge, he has had no ground of complaint: but on the contrary, "that he has the very best of reason to look upon himself as one of the "most fortunate princes in Christendom, could he but know his own happiness." Lords of Council, Oct. 8; Keith, 349. Maitland sent a copy of this statement to the archbishop of Glasgow. From his letter it appears that Mary desired the lords of the council to subscribe it, and forward it to the king of France, the queen mother, and the cardinal of Lorraine. It is, however, evident, that he meant it to be considered as detailing the truth. (Laing, ii. App. 73.) And it is confirmed by other letters from Le Croc and from Melville. Keith, 345. 350.

† Those who represent Mary as enamoured of Bothwell attach much importance to a visit which she paid to him from Jedburgh. On the 8th he

Here she was seized with a dangerous fever ; on the seventh and eighth days she lay for several hours in a state of insensibility, and so slender were the hopes of her recovery, that the lords resolved, in the event of her death, to proceed to Edinburgh, and settle the government ; a resolution which, if it had been executed, would undoubtedly have excluded the king, and placed the regency in the hands of Murray. During the intervals between the fits Mary edified the assistants, by her piety, composure, and resignation. She recommended, by letter, her son to the protection of the king of France, and of the queen of England ; and sending for the lords, exhorted them to live in harmony with each other, required them to watch with care over the education of the young prince, and solicited, as a last favour, liberty of conscience for their countrymen who professed the catholic faith, the faith in which she had been bred, and in which it was her determination to die *. On the ninth day, however, the symptoms were more favourable she began to recover slowly ; and the king, who had been sent for at the beginning of her illness, at length paid her a visit, but departed on the morrow †.

Nov. 26. As soon as the queen was able to mount her horse, she proceeded along the banks of the Tweed to Berwick, and thence to the castle of Craigmillar, where she was joined by Darnley. But no advance was made towards a reconciliation. He was too proud to submit ; she too suspicious to trust him. The delicacy of her health added, perhaps, to the anxiety of her mind ; and she

had been wounded in the hand by an outlaw ; and, if we may believe them, her love induced her that instant to take a dangerous journey to see him. But Chalmers has shown that she allowed eight days to pass ; and that it was on the 16th that she rode from Jedburgh to Hermitage castle, a distance of twenty English miles, and returned the same day. Her visit might be for a political purpose, as he was her lieutenant on the borders, and as she ordered a "masse of papers" to be forwarded to him the next day. Chalmers, i. 191 ; ii. 12.

* See the original letter in Keith, App. 133—136. Camden, 130. Maitland attributes her fever to anxiety of mind, caused by the behaviour of Darnley. Laing, ii. App. 74.

† Du Croc, the ambassador, says of the king's conduct, *c'est une faute que je ne puis excuser*, 133.

was often heard to lament that she had not died of the fever at Jedburgh*. Her situation did not escape the eyes of Murray and Maitland, the enemies of Darnley, who had accused the former of a design to assassinate him, and had demanded, as the price of his return to court, that the latter should be dismissed from the office of secretary†. As soon as the king departed, they formed the following plan, by which they might both secure themselves from his hostility, and obtain a pardon for their associates still in exile. Their hopes were founded on the persuasion that Mary would cheerfully purchase, at any price, a divorce from the man who had so cruelly offended her; and that the consent of the other noblemen might be won, if it were rewarded with an act of parliament, confirming to them the several grants which had been obtained from the improvident liberality of the queen. With this view they opened the design separately to Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwell, and all five waited in a body on Mary. Maitland, having reminded her of the injuries which she had received from Darnley, and of the obstinacy with which he persevered in his misconduct, conjured her, in the name of all present, to give her consent to a divorce. At first she discovered no disapprobation of the proposal, provided it might be done according to law, and without prejudice to the right of her child. But soon she asked, whether it were not more advisable, that she should retire for a while, and reside with her relations in France; perhaps Darnley, thus abandoned to himself, might learn to reform. Maitland replied that they could find the means of freeing her from him without prejudice to the rights of her son: and that Murray, though as scrupulous for a protestant as she was for a catholic, would look through his fingers at their doing, and say nothing against it. Mary ended the conference with these words: "I will that ye do nothing, through

* Keith, Pref. vii.

† Ibid. 351.

"which any spot may be laid to my honour or conscience; and therefore, I pray you, rather let the matter be in the state that it is, abiding till God of his goodness put remedy thereto*."

This answer of the queen put an end to the project of divorce; and the lords reverted to another scheme, which had been previously agitated, that of assassination. Bothwell took upon himself to perpetrate the crime; the others to save him scathless from the consequences. A bond was drawn by sir Jamas Balfour. It styled the king a young fool and proud tyrant, expressed the determination of the subscribers to prevent him from obtaining the rule over them, obliged them to remove him by some expedient or other, and made each declare that he would repute "the deed his own," by whomsoever it might be done†. This instrument was signed by Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Maitland, and Balfour. Whether Murray added his name may be disputed. To me he appears to have acted with his usual duplicity; he would remain neuter; "would neither help nor hinder‡."

From Craigmillar, the queen proceeded to Stirling, Dec. where the royal infant was baptized. Though Darnley 17. was in the castle, he did not appear. Elizabeth had

* Of this conversation there can be no doubt. It was brought forward by Huntley and Argyle, to prove that Murray was the original proposer of the plan to get rid of Darnley, and consequently had even then an eye to the subsequent murder. In his answer he passes it over; and, by his silence, appears to acknowledge its accuracy. It is probably to this meeting at Craigmillar that the Spanish ambassador alludes, when he writes that "many had sought to engage her in a conspiracy against her husband, but that she gave a negative to every point." *Memorias*, 319.

† Ormiston's confession in Laing, ii. 322.

‡ It is difficult to doubt the sincerity of Ormiston in his confession. According to him, Bothwell declared, that "the haill lords in Craigmillar, all that wes ther with the queen," had determined on the death of Darnley. (Laing, ii. 320.) But Bothwell might exaggerate, and Murray himself maintains that he signed no bond there. (Goodall, ii. 321.) I have, therefore, adopted the deposition of Paris; il ne veult n'ayder ne nuire (Laing ii. 299.) That deposition was plainly made to propitiate Murray; it, therefore, says as little against him as was possible; and yet amounts to an acknowledgment that he was privy to the plot, and had no objection to its success.

forbidden her ambassador at the baptism, the earl of Bedford*, to give him the title of king; and Du Croc, the French agent, had received an order not even to speak to him, till he should be reconciled to the queen. When the rejoicings were over, Bedford and Castelnau, each in the name and by the command of his sovereign, Dec. solicited the return of Morton, and was seconded by the 24. prayers of Murray, Bothwell, and the other lords. Mary could no longer refuse; a pardon for the banished earl and his seventy-six associates was granted, on condition that they should not return to Scotland during the two following years; and Darnley, either to show his displeasure, or through fear for his life, left the court the same day, and retired to his father's residence in Glasgow†.

Before the lords would intercede in favour of Morton, they had required, and received his subscription, and the subscriptions of the other exiles, to the bond devised at Craigmillar. In a few days they again solicited in his favour; and Mary consented that he might return to his native country, but under an obligation not to approach within seven miles of the court‡. The moment he entered Scotland, Bothwell and Maitland hastened to meet him; they consulted together at Whittingham, near the Lammermuir hills; and the murder Jan. of Darnley formed the subject of their deliberation. 20. When they separated, Morton proceeded to Saint Andrew's; the others returned to Edinburgh, accom-

* He took with him as a present a fount of gold: the countess of Argyre was god-mother, as proxy for Elizabeth. Keith, 360.

† Ibid. vii. 429. Chalmers, 175-342. Bothwell assumes to himself the merit of obtaining the pardon of the exiles, who "placed," he says, "great reliance on me, on account of the favour bestowed on me by her majesty, and of the free access which I had to her; the which I had acquired solely by the faithful services I had performed, as well in the wars of her late mother, as in her own." Bothwell's Memorial, 526.

‡ Compare the letter of Douglas, Robertson ii. App. xii., with the confession of Morton, Laing, ii. 354. When the lords proposed the divorce to Mary, at Craigmillar, they made the return of Morton an indispensable condition; had they proposed the assassination to her, they would have done the same. Her delay in granting the pardon, and the restrictions which she successively appended to it, show that no such thing had taken place. If it had, she would certainly have permitted him to return to the court at once.

panied by Archibald Douglas, who was soon remanded with this message from Maitland: "Schaw the erle Morton, that the quene will hear no speech of that matter appointed unto him." When the messenger complained of its obscurity, he was told that it would be sufficiently intelligible to his master*.

- It chanced that at this time the small-pox was prevalent in Glasgow, and that Darnley took the infection.
- Jan. 4. When the news reached Edinburgh, Mary sent her own physician to her husband, with a message that she would shortly visit him herself†. This promise she fulfilled:
24. their affection seemed to revive; and they mutually promised to forget all former causes of offence‡. From Glasgow, as soon as he was able to remove, she returned
28. with him to Edinburgh, and, probably to preserve the young prince from infection, lodged him, not in Holyrood house,
31. but in a house§ belonging to the provost of St. Mary's, generally called "the Kirk of Field." Here it was that the conspirators prepared to execute the plan which had been discussed, and probably arranged, in the meeting at Wittingham. By a door in the city wall their agents obtained access to the cellar of the house, undermined the foundations in several parts, and placed a sufficient quantity of gun-powder under the angles of the building||. The queen

* Ibid. Arnot, 389, and the letters of Bedford, Jan. 9, and of Drury, Jan. 23, in Chalmers, ii. 227. Goodall, i. 282. If we may believe Morton, he refused to concur in the murder, unless Bothwell should procure him permission from the queen. This was promised but not effected. One thing, however, is plain, that he permitted Douglas, his confidential friend, to act as his substitute. See his confession, Bannatyne, 494, and Laing, ii. 354, and the letter of Douglas, Robertson, ii. App. xii.

† These particulars, from the letters of Drury and Bedford, prove the falsehood of Buchanan's account. Chalmers, ii. 178.

‡ It seems to me proved beyond contradiction, that a reconciliation had, apparently at least, taken place. In addition to the testimonies collected by other writers, Mr. Chalmers adduces that of Clernault, taken at Berwick, Feb. 12: "la bonne intelligence et union en quoi lad' dame, et led' sr roy vivoient depuis trois semaines. Telle malaventure est advenue au temps que sa mate et le roy estoient au meillure mesnage que l'on pouvoit desirer." ii. 114.

§ Mary had suffered severely from the small-pox when she was in France. See *Lettres de Marie*, with a note by Prince Labanoff, vii. p. 304.

|| In the confession of Powrie, Hay, Hepburn, and Paris, wrung from them by torture, it is said that the powder was placed, between ten and eleven at night, in the queen's bed-chamber, under the king's, while she, with her attendants, were with him in his own room. (Laing, ii. 269. 279. 284. 304.) I

visited her husband daily, gave him repeated testimonies of her affection, and frequently slept in the room under his bed-chamber. She had promised to be present at a masked ball, to be given on the ninth of February, in honour of the marriage of Sebastiani and Margaret Carwood, two of her servants; and the certainty of her absence on that night induced the conspirators to select it for the execution of the plot.

On the ninth. Mary went as usual to the Kirk of Field, with a numerous retinue, remained in Darnley's Feb. company from six till almost eleven o'clock, and at her 9. departure kissed him, and taking a ring from her finger, placed it on his. She then returned by the light of torches to Holyrood house: on the termination of the ball, a little after twelve, she retired to her chamber; 10. and about two the palace and city were shaken by a tremendous explosion. It was soon ascertained that the house of Kirk of Field had been blown up with gunpowder; that the dead bodies of the king and his page Taylor were lying uninjured in the garden; that two men had perished among the ruins; and that three others had escaped with very little hurt*.

This tragical event has given birth to an interesting controversy, whether the Scottish queen was or was not privy and consenting to the death of her husband. Few questions in history have been more keenly or more obstinately discussed; but her advocates, as well as her see not what advantage could be derived from this story; yet it is difficult to believe it. Not only do the time, the distance, and the manner of conveying the powder, render it improbable, but the council, in their letter of the 10th, Mary, in hers of the 12th, and the trial of Morton, prove that the house was blown up from the very foundation, so that not one stone was left upon another. Hence the real mine must have been made in the cellar. Keith, pref. viii. Laing, ii. 97. 351. Chalmers, ii. 445.

* Keith, pref. viii. Laing, ii. 95. But how happened it that Darnley's body was uninjured? Morette, envoy of Cosmo de' Medici, and living in Edinburgh at the time, supposes that Darnley, alarmed at the noise made by the conspirators, rushed out of bed and out of the house into the garden, where he was seized and strangled. *Lettres de Marie*, vii. 108. The king's body was, by order of the council, embalmed, and interred by night in the royal tomb, by the side of the queen's father, James V., on Feb. 15. To inter by night and without any ceremony had become customary in Scotland since the Reformation, of which numerous instances may be seen in Balfour, ii. 250-1-2. 319-20. The slander of Buchanan, that he was deposited by the side of Riccio, is exposed by Keith, 368.

accusers, occasionally leave the pursuit of truth for the pursuit of victory; their ardour betrays both parties into errors and misrepresentations; and the progress of the historian is retarded at every step by the conflicting opinions and insidious artifices of his guides. In the conduct of Mary, previously to the murder of Darnley, I see nothing that can fairly impeach her character. There is no credible evidence that she was cognizant of the design, much less that she was the accomplice of the assassins. But in her behaviour subsequently to that event, there is much of more questionable tendency, which, in the supposition of her guilt, will be considered as the consequence of the crime; in the supposition of her innocence, may be explained away by a reference to the difficulties of her situation. I shall narrate the facts with impartiality: the reader must draw his own conclusion*.

It is acknowledged by all, that the queen acted, at first, as an innocent woman would have acted. She lamented the fate of a husband, to whom she had been so lately reconciled. She expressed a suspicion, that it had been intended to involve her in the same destruction; and she repeatedly announced her resolution to take ample vengeance on the authors of so flagitious a crime. Her chamber, according to custom on the death of a king, was hung with black; the light of the day was excluded; and in darkness and solitude she received the few who were admitted to offer their respects or condolence. Letters, describing the manner of the murder, the state of her mind, and the measures which she intended to pursue, were written to the foreign courts†;

Feb.
10.

* The reader will see, that hitherto I have made no reference to the celebrated letters, on which depends the credit due to Buchanan in his history and detection, and to de Thou, who was led by Buchanan. Those letters will be noticed in the following chapter: here I will only remark, that, if Mary and Bothwell, with a view to their own marriage, had resolved to remove Darnley out of the way, poison would have offered them an expedient equally sure, and infinitely less dangerous. It is strange that they should have refused that which would probably have concealed the murder of the sick man, and have adopted that—the blowing up of the house—which must publish the murder to the whole world.

† Keith, pref. viii. Anderson, ii. 202. Laing, ii. 97. Killegrow's letter in Chalmers, i. 209.

judicial inquiries were instituted, and a proclamation was issued, offering rewards in money and land, for the discovery and apprehension of the murderers, with a full pardon to any one of the party who would accuse his accomplices. The same noblemen continued to attend the royal person: and Murray, who the day before the murder had left the court on a visit to his wife, rejoined his colleagues in the council.

Men, in accordance with their political partialities, attributed the murder to the leaders of one or other of the two great factions which divided the nobility. After a few days, placards appeared on the Tolbooth and the walls, charging the crime on Bothwell and several of his dependants, "the queen herself assenting thereto." A proclamation immediately called on the accuser to come forth with his proofs, promising him impunity for his person, and the reward which had been offered for the discovery. He replied, by other placards, demanding as previous conditions, that the money should be deposited in safe hands, and that certain persons, servants about the palace, should be taken into custody. It was soon ascertained that the writer was James Murray, a partisan of the faction hostile to the court: but though the most diligent search was made after him, he had the good fortune to escape discovery*.

By this time the earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, who had come to an understanding with Argyle, Morton, Murray, and their friends†, took up the charge where it had been left by its anonymous author. In a long correspondence with Mary, he requested her not to wait the meeting of parliament, but to imprison the persons mentioned in the placards, and to examine them before a convention of the nobility. The parliament she had called already, the imprisonment she refused, on the mere authority of an anonymous hand-bill. Let him come forward himself, and she would deal with those accused by him according to law.

* Cahala, 136.

† Ibid. 137.

- Mar. When his answer, in which, instead of accusing as
17. guilty, he only denounced these persons as vehemently
 24. suspected of the murder, was laid before the council, Bothwell haughtily declared that he would not allow such suspicion to remain a blot upon his character, and demanded a speedy trial. The twelfth of April was appointed, and due notice sent to the earl of Lennox. Murray, with his characteristic caution, solicited leave to travel; and, entrusting his interests to the care of Bothwell, departed from Edinburgh on his way to April France; and Lennox, aware of his inability to support
 8. the charge, or intimidated by the superior power of the accused, though he had left Glasgow to attend the trial, wrote from Stirling on the eve of "the assize," to request an adjournment*. He had already solicited the good offices of the queen of England; and Elizabeth
 8. instantly despatched a messenger to Mary with a letter of most affectionate advice, which did equal honour to her head and her heart. Had it been perused by the Scottish queen before the trial, it would probably have opened her eyes to the abyss which yawned before her: but there is reason to believe that it was not suffered to reach the hands of that unfortunate princess till after the acquittal of the accused†.

12. The provost of Berwick, the bearer of the letter, had reached Holyrood house at an early hour in the morning. But the object of his mission was already known: he was treated with incivility, and could procure no one to

* Anderson, i. 36. 54; ii. 111. Howell, *St. Trials*, 907. It is generally supposed that the trial was granted at the denunciation of Lennox, but Bothwell asserts that it was granted at his own request (*Memor.* 527); and, that this is true, appears from the fact, that of the seven denounced by Lennox, he alone was tried. It is moreover plain that Lennox shrunk from the trial because he had no proof. "I find," says Killegrew, the English envoy, "suspicions and no proofs." Chalmers, i. 209. Lennox denounced the persons charged in the hand-bills: yet no proof was afterwards brought against any one of them, though several other persons were tried, and executed for the murder.

† This letter is in Robertson, i. App. xix. Archbishop Beaton, from Paris, had equally exhorted her to clear her character by the prosecution of the murderer. Keith, *pref.* ix. But I do not believe Melville's story respecting lord Herries (*Melv.* 78): for that nobleman appears in every instrument about this time as a supporter of Mary and Bothwell.

inform Mary of his arrival. After a delay of some hours, Maitland took the letter, and returned with an answer, that the queen was still in bed, and that no one dared to disturb her repose. Bothwell immediately proceeded to the Tolbooth, surrounded by two hundred soldiers, and four thousand gentlemen. Maitland rode by his side; Morton accompanied him, and supported his cause; the earl of Argyle presided as hereditary justiciary of Scotland*. A motion to postpone the trial for forty days was made and rejected; and, as no prosecutor appeared, the jury having heard the indictment, and evidence to show that Bothwell could not have been at the Kirk of Field at the time of the explosion, returned a verdict of acquittal. He then, "according to" usage and the laws of war," by proclamation, and papers affixed to the cross and the church doors, reasserted his innocence, and offered to fight, in single combat, against any native of Scotland, France, or England, who should dare to charge him with the murder †.

To clear herself from suspicion, it was incumbent on the queen to bring the real assassins to justice. This had been remarked to her by Elizabeth; it had been urged in the most impressive terms by her ambassador at Paris, and it had, on more than one occasion, been acknowledged by Mary herself. But how, her advisers ask, did she proceed? She refused the reasonable petition of her father-in-law; she granted to Bothwell a collusive trial; and she persisted in main-

* See Drury's letter of Apr. 15. Chalmers, ii. 245—247. Mr. Laing will not allow that Morton was at all concerned in this trial, i. 70. Yet I see not how he can elude the testimony of Belforest (Jebb, i. 403); or of Camden, *Mortonio causam ejus sustinente*, i. 138. Morton had been appointed one of the jury, but paid the forfeit, under pretence that he was a kinsman of Darnley. Drury, *ibid*.

† Anderson, ii. 107. Bothwell's mem. 528. He maintains, of course, that he was innocent, and charges the murder on "the traitors," that is, the exiles. It may have been that he was not present at the perpetration of the crime; for, as there was a guard of fifty men at Holyrood house, it is difficult to conceive how any man could have entered after the explosion without being challenged; and it was proved by the testimony of Hunley that, hastening with the intelligence to Bothwell's apartment, he found him and the countess in bed. But this is no proof that the murder was not committed with his foreknowledge, or by his agents.

taining his innocence on the credit of an acquittal, which, to every impartial observer, furnished additional confirmation of his guilt. Would she have acted in a manner so fatal to her reputation, had she not been impelled by some powerful motive, such as consciousness of crime, or a licentious passion for the person of the murderer? In reply, her advocates remark, that in the preceding statement, much has been taken as fact, which never was proved; but, even in the supposition of its truth, it should be remembered, that Mary was a young and defenceless woman in the hands of a faction; that she could receive no information, could adopt no measure, but through the medium of her council; and that this council was composed of the very persons who are said to have planned the murder, or directed its execution, or given bonds to screen the perpetrators from punishment. It was no wonder, then, if in such circumstances, and surrounded by such interested and unprincipled advisers, she were taught to believe that Bothwell was innocent, that the accusation had been suggested by the malice of his enemies, and that Lennox requested a delay, because he found himself unable to substantiate the charge.

Two days after the trial the parliament was opened, and its proceedings appear to cast some light on the real object of those who had procured the death of Darnley. Though Mary had reigned but a short time, she had already bestowed, at the solicitation of her ministers, two-thirds of the property of the crown on them and their adherents. They held, however, these acquisitions by a precarious tenure; because the law of Scotland gave the sovereign the power of revoking all such grants at any time, before he or she had reached the age of twenty-five years. It was known that the late king expressed himself with much warmth against the improvident bounty of his wife. In the preceding April, Mary had made a partial revocation; and, as the present was the last year in which she could exercise that

right, there could be little doubt that Darnley, had he lived, would have urged her to a general act of resumption. The great object of the lords was to take away the very possibility of such a measure. In the short April space of three days, the lands forfeited by Huntley were restored, the grants made to Murray, Bothwell, Morton, Crawford, Caithness, Rothes, Semple, Herries, Maitland, and others, were confirmed; and the power of revocation was taken both from the queen and her successors. In addition, the act abolishing the papal jurisdiction, which had been made by the convention in 1560, but had never received the royal assent, was now ratified; but to it was appended, probably to silence the objections of the queen, a permission for all Scotsmen to serve God according to the dictates of their consciences*. Lastly, the record of the trial of Bothwell was brought into the house, the proceedings were revised, and the verdict declared just and legal†.

On the day after the dissolution of parliament, twenty-four of the principal peers, comprising, as well those who had been distinguished by their loyalty, as those who had repeatedly borne arms against their sovereign, assembled and subscribed a new bond. They were made to assert their belief of the innocence of Bothwell; they obliged themselves to defend him against all calumniators, with their bodies, heritages, and goods; and they promised upon their consciences, and as they would answer to the eternal God, to promote a marriage between him and the queen, as soon as it could be done by law, and she might think convenient; and for that purpose to aid him with their votes, their lives, and their goods, against all mortals whomsoever. If they believed him to have been a party to the murder, a more

* Keith, 378, Act Parl. ii. 547. It is singular, that Anderson published the confirmation to Bothwell, and omitted the others, i. 117.

† This was asserted by Mary, and a number of Scottish lords in their instructions to Mary's agents in England. Goodal, ii. 163. 342. 361. Mr. Laing tells us, that it was a direct and wilful falsehood, i. 69, note. Yet Bothwell, without any concert with her or them, asserts the same in his memorial, p. 521. There cannot be a doubt of the fact.

disgraceful association does not sully the page of history*.

The next day Mary rode to Stirling, to visit her infant son, whom, for greater security, she had lately intrusted to the custody of the earl of Marr. On her April return, she had reached the Foulbrigge, half a mile
24. from the castle of Edinburgh, when she was met by Bothwell at the head of one thousand horse. To resist would have been fruitless; and the queen with her attendants, the earl of Huntley, Maitland, and Melville, was conducted to the castle of Dunbar. There she remained a captive for the space of ten days: nor was she suffered to depart till she had consented to become the wife of Bothwell†.

To explain this extraordinary transaction, her enemies represent it as a collusion between the parties. They had long been lovers; they wished to marry; and a show of violence was made to save the reputation of the queen‡. It is, however, but fair to listen to her own story. Mary tells us, that previously to her visit to Stirling, Bothwell had dropped some hints of marriage, but received so resolute an answer, that he saw nothing but force could win her consent. On her return towards Edinburgh, he seized her person, and conducted her, against her will, to Dunbar. There he renewed his suit with more earnestness, conjured her to attribute his

* Keith, i. 383. Anderson, i. 107. The subscribers comprise all the bishops that were in parliament but one, all the earls but two, and all the lords but five. It is stated by Camden, that the bond was devised by the parties to the murder, ne Bothwellus, promissis nuptiis exclusus, eos ut totius sceleris architectos insimularet. *Camd. i. 133.*

† Scottish acts, iii. 8.

‡ To these insinuations may be opposed two powerful objections. 1^o. Mary's enemies never spoke of the collusion for many months afterwards. In their different proclamations, and in the act of parliament against Bothwell, they considered her captivity as real, and effected by superior force. Anderson, i. 131. 136. 139. 142. Act Parl. iii. 6-8. 2^o. To prove the collusion, they produced a paper said to have been written or signed by her, and purporting to be a license to the lords to subscribe the bond on the 20th. Now, if this license were genuine, no appearance of force would have been necessary; she had already declared to the whole nobility of Scotland that she was willing to marry the earl. If it be not, how can we assent to an hypothesis, the framers of which were compelled to commit an act of forgery for its support? Bothwell, in his own narrative, says nothing respecting the seizure of the queen or her consent, but attributes the marriage to the advice of the subscribers to the bond, 521.

violence to the ardour of his affection, and laid before her the bond of the lords with their respective signatures. Mary perused it with astonishment and dismay: yet her repugnance was not subdued. It did not arise, if we may believe her own assertion, from any suspicion that the earl had been guilty of the murder of Darnley—she had been taught, by all around her, to believe the charge groundless and vexatious—but she considered the match unequal, and the proposal premature; and she wished, before she entered on another marriage, to take the advice of her friends both at home and abroad. She had at first cherished a hope that the news of the outrage would summon an army of loyal subjects to rescue her from her prison: but day passed after day; no sword was drawn in her cause, no attempt made in her favour; the apathy of the lords proved to her that the bond was genuine, and that she was a captive in the hands of an audacious subject. Bothwell insensibly assumed a more decisive tone: “nor did he cease till, by persuasion and importunate sute, accompanied with force, he had driven her to end the work*.” The meaning of the words “accompanied with force,” she has not explained; Melville, her servant and fellow-prisoner, assures us that it was the violation of her person†.

* Anderson, i. 89. 102. In a letter to the archbishop of Glasgow (May 27), she asserts that this statement contains “the verie trewth of the mater.” It should, however, be remembered, that it was made under the necessity of saying something in her own vindication. “The event indeed is strange, and itherwiss nor ye wuld have lukit for.” *Illust.* 177.

† Melville, 80. Melville’s testimony is corroborated by Mary’s enemies in their answer to Throckmorton (Keith, 418; Stevenson, 233), that she was compelled “by fear, force, and, as by many conjectures may be well suspected, other extraordinary and mair unlauchfull meanys to become bed-fellow to another wyves husband.” In the sonnets attributed by them to Mary is the following allusion to the same thing.

———“Il se fit de ce corps possesseur,

Du quel alors il n’avoist pas le cœur.”

If the sonnets are forgeries, this passage is quite in keeping with the above answer to Throckmorton; if they are genuine, it completely negatives the assertion that Mary had previously lived in adultery with Bothwell, and had assented to the murder of her husband, that she might marry her paramour. It may be that by “unlauchfull meanys” they hinted at magic.

- Bothwell now left the fortress: but it was to conduct the captive queen from one prison to another, from the castle of Dunbar to that of Edinburgh. Here she pleaded for time, that she might obtain the consent of the king of France, and of her relations of the house of Guise. But his ambition was too impatient to run the hazard of delay. The only remaining obstacle, his existing marriage with Janet Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntley, was in a few days removed. Both had already sued for a divorce, she on the ground of adultery in the consistorial, he on that of consanguinity in the archiepiscopal court: in both a favourable judgment was pronounced; and it was hoped that the objections of the protestants would be silenced by the decision of the one, those of the catholics by that of the other. Exactly one month after his trial, Bothwell led the queen to the court of session, where, in the presence of the judges, she forgave the forcible abduction of her person, and declared that he had restored her to the full enjoyment of liberty; the next day she created him duke of Orkney; and having granted a pardon to the lords who had subscribed the bond, was married to him by a reformed minister, in the hall of Holyrood house*. Still, however, she remained a prisoner. Guards continually watched the passages leading to her apartments; no person could obtain access to her, except in the presence of Bothwell; and the harsh treatment which she daily experienced convinced her that she had given to herself a cruel and imperious master. The unhappy queen was often discovered in tears. But though her present sufferings might teach her to perceive and lament her past indiscretion, she could then form no idea of that long train of evils with which it would be followed †.

* Anderson, i. 87. 136. Melville, 80. Laing, i. 94. There is an unimportant controversy whether the marriage ceremony was performed by a priest as well as a minister. † Anderson, i. 132. 136. Melville, 82. Stevenson, 234. Du Croc apud Von Raumer, ii. 100. Du Croc visited her on the day of the marriage. She was very sorrowful, and declared to him that she should never be cheerful again; that she had no other wish but to die.

APPENDIX.

NOTE (A), Page 118.

The history of their interview is interesting. Ridley waited on Mary, September 8, 1552, and was courteously received. After dinner he offered to preach before her in the church. She begged him to make the answer himself. He urged her again; she replied that he might preach, but neither she, nor any of hers, would hear him. *Ridley*. "Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word." *Mary*. "I cannot tell what you call God's word. That is not God's word now which was God's word in my father's time." *Ridley*. "God's word is all one in all times; but is better understood and practised in some ages than in others." *Mary*. "You durst not for your ears have preached that for God's word in my father's time, which you do now. As for your new books, thank God, I never read them. I never did, nor ever will do." Soon afterwards she dismissed him with these words: "My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offer to preach before me, I thank you not." As he retired, he drank according to custom with sir Thomas Wharton, the steward of her household; but suddenly his conscience smote him: "Surely," he exclaimed, "I have done wrong. I have drunke in that house in which God's word hath been refused. I ought, if I had done my duty, to have shaken the dust off my shoes for a testimony against this house." Foxe, ii. 131.

NOTE (B), Page 118.

It has been asserted, on the authority of Foxe (iii. p. 12), that the protestants of Suffolk, before they would support the claim of Mary, extorted from her, as an indispensable condition, a promise to make no alteration in the religion established under Edward. Is this statement correct?

Foxe himself has preserved a document which seems

to show that it is not. During the persecution, these very persons presented to the queen's commissioners a long petition in favour of their religion. It was certainly the time for them to have urged the promise, if any had been given. But they appear to have no knowledge of any such thing. They do not make the remotest allusion to it. They speak, indeed, of their services : but, instead of attributing them to the promise of the queen, they insinuate the contrary, by asserting that they had supported her claim, because their religion taught them to support the rightful heir (Foxe, iii. 578—583). To me, their silence on this occasion seems conclusive.

It has been thought a confirmation of the assertion of Foxe, that Cobb presented to the queen, soon after her accession, a supplication in favour of the reformed creed, signed by 100 persons, from Norfolk. But we know not the contents of the supplication ; and it was proved that Cobb was an impostor, and that the signatures were forgeries. For the offence he stood in the pillory, November 24th, 1553.

A better confirmation may be found in Noailles (iii. 16), from whom we learn that Wyat and his accomplices charged the queen with having broken two promises. one not to make alterations in religion, another not to marry a foreigner. Yet little credit can be given to reports circulated by rebels to justify their rebellion. One was, both probably were, fictions, the object of which was to irritate the people.

It should, however, be observed that the emperor had advised her to make such promise, if she found it necessary. In his instructions to his ambassadors during Edward's illness, he says: "*et pour autant qu'il est vraisemblable qu'ils (the lords of the council) ne voudront admettre notre cousine à la couronne qu'ils ne soient assurés de deux choses, l'une qu'elle ne fera changement ni au gouvernement, ni es choses de la religion, l'autre qu'elle pardonnera tous ceux qui pourroient avoir commis ceux qui gouvernent, il sera de besoin que en ce elle ne fasse difficulté, puisque c'est chose en quoi elle ne peut remedier ; conservant toutefois quant à soi sa religion entière inviolablement, et attendant que Dieu donne opportunité de peu à peu reduire par bon moyen le tout, que sera ce en quoi elle devra autant veiller, si*

Dieu lui fasse cette grace de parvenir á la couronne." Renard, MS. iii. 6. Hence, though there is no evidence of any specific promise being made by the queen, it is not improbable that her partisans held out such expectations to allure men to her standard.

On July 22, as soon as Charles had heard of her success, he advised her to do nothing to shock the opinions of her subjects: "qu'elle s'accommode avec toute douceur, se conformant aux definitions du parlement, sans rien faire toute fois de sa personne qui soit contre sa conscience et sa religion, oyant seulement la messe ápart en sa chambre sans autre demonstration.... Quelle s'attende jusques elle aye opportunité de rassembler parlement. Ibid. 24.

It was probably in consequence of this advice from Charles that, when she admonished the lord mayor on occasion of the tumult at St. Paul's cross, she said that "she meant graciously not to compell or straine other men's consciences otherwise then God should, as she trusted, put in their heartes a perswasyon of the truth "thorough the openinge of his worde unto them." (Council book, Archæol. xviii. 173.) However, as if she were apprehensive that advantage might be taken of these words, in a few days she published a proclamation, in which she repeated the same, but with this addition: "untill such time as further order by common consent may be taken therein." Wilk. Con. iv. 86.

NOTE (C), Page 141.

The principal persons restored were Gertrude the widow, and Courtenay the son, of the marquess of Exeter; Thomas Howard, son of the earl of Surrey; and the two daughters of lord Montague, who had suffered under Henry; Edward Seymour, son to the duke of Somerset; and the heirs of Arundel, Stanhope, and Partridge, who had been beheaded with Somerset, under Edward. The duke of Norfolk, who was supposed to have been attainted on the last day of Henry's life, did not ask for the same benefit. He denied the validity of the attainder. The case was argued before the judges at Serjeant's inn. The duke produced the original act, and the commission to give to it the royal assent. His

counsel remarked, that, contrary to custom, the king's signature was placed, not above, but below the title; and that the letters were too perfect to have been made by a person at the point of death; whence they inferred that there was no sufficient evidence of the royal assent having been given, and that of course the attainder was of no force. For greater security, however, a bill was passed, "to avoid" the attainder. When it was sent to the lower house, lord Paget appeared as a witness, and declared on his honour that the king did not sign the commission, but that a servant of the name of William Clark impressed on it the royal stamp: and that this was the fact appears from Clark's own list of instruments to which he had affixed the stamp, in State Papers, i. p. 898. The patentees, who had purchased some of the duke's property, petitioned to be heard by counsel; but they afterwards referred the matter to arbitration, and the bill passed. Journals, 32. Dyer's Reports, 93. The duke had, however, taken the precaution to obtain a general pardon of all offences from the queen. Rymer, xv. 337.

NOTE (D), Page 207. 213.

It may be asked why I have omitted the affecting martyrdom of the three women of Guernsey, and the preternatural death of Gardiner. My answer is, that I believe neither. 1°. The first rests on the doubtful authority of Foxe, whose narrative was immediately contradicted, and disproved by Harding. Foxe replied, and Persons wrote in refutation of that reply. I have had the patience to compare both, and have no doubt that the three women were hanged as thieves, and afterwards burnt as heretics; that no one knew of the pregnancy of one of them, a woman of loose character; and that the child was found dead in the flames after the body of the mother had fallen from the gibbet. The rest we owe to the imagination of the martyrologist or of his informer. See Foxe, iii. 625, and Persons' examination of Foxe, part ii. p. 91.

2°. Foxe, on the authority of an old woman, Mrs. Mondaie, widow of a Mr. Mondaie, some time secretary to the old duke of Norfolk, tells us that Gardiner, on the

16th of October, invited to dinner the old duke of Norfolk; but so eagerly did he thirst after the blood of Ridley and Latimer, that he would not sit down to table, but kept the duke waiting some hours, till the messenger arrived with the news of their execution. Then he ordered dinner: but in the midst of his triumph God struck him with a strangury: he was carried to his bed in intolerable torments; and never left it alive. (Foxe, iii. 450.) Burnet has repeated the tale. (Burnet, ii. 329). Yet it is plainly one of the silly stories palmed upon the credulity of the martyrologist: for,

1°. The old duke of Norfolk could not have been kept waiting; he had been twelve months in his grave. He was buried October 2nd in the preceding year.

2°. Gardiner had already been ill for some time. Noailles (v. 127.) informed his court, on the 9th of September, that the chancellor was indisposed with the jaundice, and in some danger.

3°. On the 6th of October he was worse, and in more danger from the dropsy than the jaundice. There was no probability that he would live till Christmas (v. 150). From the 7th to the 19th he was confined to his chamber; and left it for the first time that day to attend the parliament. These dates are irreconcilable with the story in Foxe; according to which, he must have been seized with his disease on the 16th, and could never have appeared in public afterwards.

NOTE (E), Page 260.

In the first year of her reign, the queen gave the following explanation of her supremacy, in "an admonition to simple men, deceived by malicious."

"Her majesty forbiddeth all manner of her subjects
 "to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious
 "persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour
 "to notify to her loving subjects, how by words of the
 "said oath it may be collected, that the kings or queens
 "of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge
 "authority and power of ministry of divine service in
 "the church, wherein her said subjects be much abused
 "by such evil-disposed persons. For certainly her ma-
 "jesty neither doth, nor ever will, challenge any other

" authority, than that was challenged and lately used
 " by the noble kings of famous memory, king Henry
 " the eighth, and king Edward the sixth, which is and
 " was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this
 " realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty
 " and rule over all manner of persons born within these
 " her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate,
 " either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as
 " no other foreign power shall or ought to have any su-
 " periority over them. And if any person, that hath
 " conceived any other sense of the form of the said oath,
 " shall accept the same oath with this interpretation,
 " sense, or meaning, her majesty is well pleased to
 " accept every such in that behalf, as her good and obe-
 " dient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of
 " penalties contained in the said act against such as
 " shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take the
 " same oath."

This explanation satisfied many of the puritans; the
 catholics objected to it, that it seemed to give to her
 spiritual as well as civil authority, and at the same time
 excluded all spiritual jurisdiction derived from any
 foreign bishop.

NOTE (F), Page 262.

It should be observed, that deprivation was not the
 only punishment inflicted on the catholic bishops for
 their nonconformity. They were objects of persecution,
 with perhaps one exception, as long as they lived. Those
 who had attended in parliament were deprived immedi-
 ately; the others were sent for from the country, and
 shared the fate of their brethren. All were placed
 under custody; and during the winter the sentence of
 excommunication was published against Heath and
 Thirlby, and in the summer against Bonner. By that
 time Tunstall of Durham, Morgan of St. David's, Ogil-
 thorp of Carlisle, White of Winchester, and Baines of
 Coventry, had died of the contagious malady which pre-
 vailed. Scot of Chester, Goldwell of St. Asaph, and
 Pate of Worcester, found the means of retiring to the
 continent. Of the remaining seven, Heath, after two or

three imprisonments in the Tower, was permitted to live on his own property at Cobham in Surrey, where the queen, by whom he was greatly respected, occasionally honoured him with a visit. Bonner, after a confinement of ten years, died in the Marshalsea; Watson of Lincoln remained a prisoner twenty-three years, and died in Wisbeach castle. Thirlby of Ely lived in the custody of archbishop Parker, and Bourne of Bath and Wells in that of Dr. Carew, dean of Exeter. Turberville of Exeter, and Pool of Peterborough, were suffered to remain at their own houses, on their recognisances not to leave them without licence. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, passed from the Tower to the custody of the bishop of London, then to that of the bishop of Winchester, and was at last confined in Wisbeach castle.

NOTE (G), Page 263.

Archbishop Parker.

The elevation of Dr. Parker to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury was an important event in English history. On that account, it will be my object in this note to point out the circumstances which at first retarded his consecration, and the several controversies to which that consecration afterwards gave birth.

It was originally intended that his consecration should take place in the Ember-week of September, 1559. Hence, on September 9 a commission was issued to Tunstall, bishop of Durham, Bourne, of Bath and Wells, Pool, of Peterborough, and Kitchen, of Landaff, and to Barlow and Scorey, bishops once of Bath and Chichester, but deprived under queen Mary, commanding them, or four of them, on their allegiance, to meet, and confirm and consecrate Dr. Parker to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. Now, the first four of these were bishops in the actual exercise of episcopal jurisdiction; so that, if they had obeyed the queen's mandate, the confirmation and consecration of the new archbishop would have been vested with the formalities required by the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII. But Tunstall, Bourne and Pool, refused to obey; they

were deprived and imprisoned; and Kitchen remained the only diocesan bishop in the kingdom.

The queen was now advised to issue a second commission, making up the requisite number of prelates from deprived or suffragan bishops, and healing all defects and removing all disqualifications by what might be called a sanatory clause, proceeding from her supreme authority, and justified by the urgency of the case. On the approach of the Ember-week in December such a commission was accordingly issued (December 6) to Kitchen of Landaff, to Barlow, formerly of Bath, now elect of Chichester, Scory, formerly of Chichester, now elect of Hereford, and Coverdale, formerly of Exeter, to the suffragans of Bedford and Thetford, and to Bale, bishop of Ossory in Ireland. This commission was exactly of the same authority and to the same import as the former, but in it was introduced the sanatory clause devised by the civilians. Barlow, Scory, Coverdale and Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford, having consented to act under it, Parker was confirmed (Dec. 9) and consecrated (Dec. 17) by these four.

Still, doubts were entertained of the legality of his consecration. The question was at last brought to an issue by the contest between Horne, the new bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, the deprived bishop of London, then a prisoner in the Marshalsea. The statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, c. 1., had authorized the bishops to offer the oath of supremacy to clergymen within their respective bishoprics, and subjected the refusers to take it to the penalties of a *præmunire*. Now, Bonner, though deprived of his bishopric, was still a clergyman, and the Marshalsea, though a prison, was situate within the diocese of Winchester. Horne, therefore, summoned Bonner to take the oath, and certified his refusal into the court of Queen's Bench. Bonner, under the advice of Plowden, the celebrated lawyer, pleaded not guilty for several reasons, one of which was, that the person by whom the oath had been offered to him was no bishop. After a long argument in Serjeants' Inn, all the judges agreed that Bonner had a right to an inquiry before a jury as to the matter of fact, whether Horne, at the time when he offered the oath, was or was not a bishop in the eye of the law. On what grounds Bonner's plea would have been sustained we know not: the trial was prevented; but, if we may judge from the act of

parliament which followed, it would have been maintained that he had not received a legal consecration from the new archbishop, because that very prelate's consecration had been illegal, through the defect of jurisdiction in his consecrators, and the illegality of the ordinal according to which he had been consecrated. (On the illegality of that ordinal both Parker and Cecil were agreed. See Strype's Parker. p. 40.) The ministers, however, very adroitly freed themselves from the difficulty by an act of parliament "declaring the manner of making bishops and archbishops in this kingdom to be good, perfect, and lawful." It begins with a very long preamble in justification of the queen's conduct. She was empowered by law to appoint to bishoprics and archbishoprics by her letters patent; she had ordered the persons so appointed to be confirmed and consecrated according to the ordinal at the end of the book of Common Prayer, which book had been approved by parliament; and she had, by an especial clause, dispensed with all causes and doubt of any imperfection and disability that might or could be objected against the same, as by her letters patent, still remaining of record (that is, on the rolls of Chancery), will appear. After this preamble it is enacted,—1. That in all ordinations and consecrations the ordinal of Edward VI. shall be followed; 2. That all acts and things already done in confirmation, investing, and consecration of bishops by virtue of the queen's letters patent, shall be judged good and perfect to all intents and purposes; 3. That all persons consecrated in that manner shall be had to have been truly and validly consecrated,—but with a proviso; 4. That a stop be put to all prosecutions for the refusal of the oath of supremacy, hitherto offered by the new bishops, and that all tenders of the said oath hitherto made by them should be void and of none effect or validity in the law.—Stat. of Realm, iv. 484. By this act, passed in the eighth of the queen's reign, the sovereign's authority was preserved in full force, the legal validity of the previous consecrations was established, and the deprived bishops were saved from the penalties of *praemunire* with which they had been threatened by the zeal or enmity of their successors.

But no parliamentary enactment could set at rest the question respecting the theological validity of these ordinations. We are told, and that too on apparent authority (Fuller, ix. 62, Heylin, p. 121), that from Bow Church

the commissioners, who had confirmed the election of Parker, proceeded to dinner at a neighbouring inn, the Nag's Head, much frequented by the country clergy on their arrival in London. This fact, if it be a fact, may account for the origin of a story afterwards circulated, that during the dinner a messenger arrived from Bonner forbidding Kitchen to exercise any diocesan authority in the bishopric of London, on which Scorey, jocularly leaving his seat, made the bishops elect kneel down, placed a Bible on the head of each, and bade them rise up consecrated bishops. How Kitchen and Scorey happened to be present (for the records show that they never acted together), or what concern the bishops elect had with the confirmation of Parker (for they were confirmed not by the commissioners, but by Parker himself), is not stated. But the dinner appears to have given rise to some story, which at first was privately whispered, after some years became by repetition more consistent and more widely known, and acquired strength and credit in proportion as it receded from its origin, till in the beginning of the next century it was boldly supported by writers, who maintained that the established hierarchy derived its existence from the mummery said to have been practised at the Nag's Head by the jocular bishop Scorey. It will not excite surprise if such statements led to a long and acrimonious controversy.

To meet the Nag's Head fable, appeal was made to the archbishop's register. That register opens with some documents appertaining to his promotion, and a long narrative comprising the whole process of his consecration, a narrative remarkable for the minuteness of detail into which it enters, and the irreverent language in which it occasionally speaks of the officiating prelates, whom it designates by the names of plain John Scorey, Miles Coverdale, &c. From this document we learn that the time appointed for the consecration was a little before six in the morning of Sunday, the 17th of December; the place appointed the archiepiscopal chapel at Lambeth. The consecrators were the four prelates by whom the election of Parker had been confirmed, Barlow and Hodgkins, who had been bishops under Henry VIII., and Scorey and Coverdale, who had been bishops under Edward VI. The witnesses consisted of many of the new bishops elect, the chief officers of Parker's ecclesiastical and household establishments, and Thomas Willet and John Incent, notaries pub-

lie, to whom we ought perhaps to attribute the document itself. There exists a copy of the same document in the State Paper office (Tierney's *Dodd.* ii. cclxxxiv.), and another in a contemporary hand (often supposed to be the original notarial instrument from which the entry was made in the register), still in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which it was left a legacy, with other papers, by the archbishop himself. A fac-simile of this instrument was published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1841.

To this testimony of the register what could the champions of the Nag's Head story oppose? They had but one resource,—to deny its authenticity; to pronounce it a forgery. But there was nothing to countenance such a supposition. The most experienced eye could not discover in the entry itself, or the form of the characters, or the colour of the ink, the slightest vestige of imposture. Moreover, the style of the instrument, the form of the rite, and the costumes attributed to the prelates, were all in keeping, redolent of the theology taught in the schools of Strasbourg and Geneva. Besides, if external confirmation were wanting, there was the archbishop's diary, or journal, a parchment roll, in which he had been accustomed to enter the principal events of his life, and in which, under the date of the 17th of December, ann. 1559, is found, *Consecratus sum in archiepiscopum Cantuarien.* *Heu! heu! Domine Deus, in quae tempora servasti me!* Another confirmation, to which no objection can be reasonably opposed, occurs in the Zurich letters, in which we find Sampson informing Peter Martyr, on the 6th of January, 1560, that Dr. Parker had been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury during the preceding month.

In the course of this controversy, the answers to one objection frequently produced a new subject of debate. According to the register, a William Barlow held the office of consecrating prelate. Who was he? Barlow had been a regular canon of St. Osyth's, distinguished by the boldness and bitterness of his writings at a more early period, and afterwards a great favourite with Cromwell, vicar-general to Henry VIII. About the end of 1535 he was sent from his priory of Bisham in the company of Lord William Howard, on a mission partly political, partly religious, to James V. of Scotland, where he was success-

fully opposed by those "pestilent limbs of the devil," the Scottish bishops. Soon after his arrival there he was elected bishop of St. Asaph, in Wales, and whilst he still remained in Scotland, before he had been consecrated or taken possession of his see, he was transferred, probably at the instance of his patron, from the diocese of St. Asaph's to that of St. David's, by "free transmutation—per liberum transmutationem."—*Rymer*, xiv. 570. In the present stage of the controversy it was asked whether Barlow had been consecrated, as well as transmuted; for both parties agreed that an unconsecrated prelate could not confer consecration. Now, it happened most vexatiously that no record of his consecration was known to exist. Though searches were repeatedly made in every likely repository, no traces of it could be found, nor, I believe, has any allusion or reference to it been discovered to the present day in any ancient writer or document. Still, the absence of proof is no proof of non-consecration. No man has ever disputed the consecration of Gardiner of Winchester; yet he was made bishop while on a mission abroad, and his consecration is involved in as much darkness as that of Barlow. When, therefore, we find Barlow, during ten years, the remainder of Henry's reign, constantly associated as a brother with the other consecrated bishops, discharging with them all the duties, both spiritual and secular, of a consecrated bishop, summoned equally with them to parliament and convocation, taking his seat among them according to his seniority, and voting on all subjects as one of them, it seems most unreasonable to suppose, without direct proof, that he had never received that sacred rite, without which, according to the laws of both church and state, he could not have become a member of the episcopal body.

However, setting Barlow aside, there still remained the very important question, whether the Lambeth rite was of itself sufficient to constitute a Christian bishop; for the reader is not to suppose that the consecration of Dr. Parker was celebrated according to the form in which episcopal consecrations are performed at the present time. In Edward's reign archbishop Cranmer had "devised" an ordinal in conformity with his own Calvinistic notions respecting the episcopal character. It seems, however, not to have harmonized perfectly with the notions which

Barlow and his coadjutors had acquired from their foreign masters. Omitting, therefore, part of it, they consecrated the new archbishop in the following manner. Placing their hands upon his head, they admonished him thus : “Remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is “in thee by imposition of hands ; for God hath not given “us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of “soberness.” How, it was asked, could this monition make a bishop? It bore no immediate connection with the episcopal character. It designated none of the peculiar duties incumbent on a bishop. It was as fit a form for the ordination of a parish clerk as of the spiritual ruler of a diocese. Parliament, in the 8th of Elizabeth, ordered that the ordinal devised under Edward VI. should be observed, which ordinal continued in force till the convocation in 1662 made the following alteration in the form to be thenceforth observed : “Receive the Holy Ghost *for “the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, com-
“mitted unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name
“of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ;* “and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which “*is given to thee by this imposition of our hands ;* for God “hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and “love, and soberness.” This addition was manifestly a great improvement, inasmuch as it imparted to the rite that episcopal character which it had hitherto wanted ; but to have been of real use it ought to have been introduced at the same time with the line of prelates to whom it applied. By Charles II. it was approved, and at his recommendation was established by parliament as the legal form of ordaining bishops in the church of England Statutes of Realm, v. 364.

NOTE (II), Page 276.

Elizabeth's objections to Knox arose from two causes : the antipathy to the English liturgy which he had manifested at Frankfort and Geneva ; and his doctrine respecting the incapacity of women to exercise the sovereign authority. This he had published in his "First blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment (government) of women : " to which he had threatened to add two other blasts still more sharp and vehement. In the first, he taught that the rule of a woman was "repugnant to nature, a contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally the subversion of all equity and justice : " in the second blast he intended to teach, that governors ought to be chosen according to God's ordinance ; that no manifest idolater, no notorious transgressor of God's holy word, should be promoted to any regiment ; that no oaths nor promises could bind the people to obey and maintain tyrants against God and his known truth ; and that those who had appointed a governor might lawfully depose and punish him, if he showed himself unworthy of the regiment over the people of God. Strype, 122. Knox, Hist. 478. At the time of the first blast, Mary of England was alive ; nor did he foresee the elevation to the throne of another woman, a friend to the Reformation. To recover her favour he acknowledged to her and to Cecil, that she was an exception from the general rule ; that her whole life had been a miracle, which proved that she had been chosen by God ; that the office, which was unlawful to other women, was lawful to her ; and that on these grounds he was ready to obey and maintain her authority. Strype, 121. Elizabeth did not suffer herself to be cajoled by the flattery of the apostle, nor persuaded by the policy of Throckmorton, who interceded in his favour. "Considering what Knoke is hable to do in Scotland, which is very muche, all this turmoil there being by him stirred as it is, it shuld stand your majesty in stede his former faultes were forgotten." Forbes, 130. Cecil was obliged to caution his correspondents not to mention the name of Knox. "Of all others,

"Knoxees name, if it be not Goodman's, is most odiose here: and therefore I wish no mention of hym hither." Cecil to Sadler and Croft. (Sadler, i. 532.)

Goodman had been joint minister with Knox at Geneva, and had published, in 1558, his celebrated treatise—"How superior powers ought to be obeyd, and wherin they may lawfully by God's worde be disobeyed and resisted." In it he repeated the doctrine of his associate respecting the political incapacity of females, and taught that kings and magistrates might lawfully be deposed and punished by their subjects, if they became wicked or tyrannical. He joined Knox in Scotland: but, though he had many friends, it was long before Elizabeth would allow him to set his foot in England. At his return, he submitted to recant his obnoxious doctrine, first in 1565, and again in 1571. Strype, i. 126. ii. 95, 96.

As soon as Elizabeth ascended the throne, the exiles after some consultation, appointed Aylmer to appease the queen, by writing in favour of female government against Knox and Goodman. His tract was entitled "An Harborowe for faithful and trewe subjectes against the late blowne blaste concerning the government of women. MDLIX. at Strasborowe the 26th of April." This tract made his fortune: the queen gave him preferment in the church, and in due time he was raised to the see of London. In his work he had advised the prelates to be content with "priest-like," and not to seek after "prince-like fortunes:" but the bishop forgot the lessons of the exile; and, being reminded of his own doctrine, he replied: "when I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things." 1 Cor. xiii. 2. Strype's Aylmer, 147. 177.

NOTE (I), Page 295.

Whitaker, in his vindication of Mary, persuaded himself that he had made an important discovery with respect to this treaty. In a long and laboured note, appended to his third volume (p. 463), he contends that the treaty is a forgery, executed with the connivance of

Cecil and Wotton, for the purpose of depriving Francis and Mary of all real authority within the kingdom of Scotland. The same opinion has been recently maintained, and enforced with additional arguments, by Mr. Chalmers, in his valuable life of Mary (vol. ii. p. 411). Feeling myself obliged to dissent from these authorities, I may be allowed to state the reasons why I believe in the authenticity of the treaty.

No one acquainted with the real history of the time can, in my opinion, doubt of the following facts: 1^o. that an accord or treaty of some description or other was negotiated at Edinburgh, between the lords of the congregation and Montluc and Randan, the French commissioners. (See Haynes' State Papers, i. 329. 331—341.)

2^o. That the substance of that treaty, as it was communicated by Cecil and Wotton to Elizabeth (July 6, Haynes, 351), agrees with the articles of the treaty, the authenticity of which is now called in question; whence it follows that, if the forgery was committed at all, it was committed at the very time when the real treaty was concluded. (Haynes, 351. 355.)

3^o. That within a month afterwards the treaty, now said to be a forgery, was laid before the Scottish parliament, and was acted upon by it as if it were a real treaty. (Keith, 152.)

4^o. That the same treaty was sent to France by the lord of St. John's, with a request to the king and queen to ratify it as if it were a real treaty. (Keith, *ibid*. Hardwicke State Papers, i. 126.)

5^o. That they refused the ratification on the ground that the Scottish lords had not complied with the obligations prescribed by it. (*Ibid*. 126—138.)

Now these facts seem to me to place the authenticity of the instrument beyond contradiction. Would Cecil and Wotton have dared to deceive their own sovereign by palming on her a spurious in place of a real treaty? Would the fabricators of the supposed forgery have ventured to lay it immediately before the parliament, in which sat many persons both able and interested to detect the fraud? Would they have had the effrontery to ask the ratification of a forgery from the king and queen, who must have had the real treaty in their pos-

session? Or would Francis and Mary have hesitated to ground their refusal of ratification on the fraud, if any fraud had existed? I see not how these questions can be satisfactorily answered in the hypothesis maintained by Whitaker.

But the reader will ask, what are the reasons which induced him to pronounce the treaty a forgery? 1°. The originals do not exist either in the archives of France or those of Scotland. How comes it that we have only an attested copy preserved by Cecil?—But surely the non-existence of the originals at present does not prove that they did not exist formerly. As the treaty was not ratified, the originals may have been destroyed by order of Mary.

2°. The commission before the treaty is dated in the sixteenth instead of the eighteenth year of Mary. This anachronism is, in the judgment of Whitaker, a convincing proof of the forgery. To me it appears to prove nothing more than the error of the copyist. Had Cecil and Wotton, or the lord James and Maitland, forged the commission, we may be assured that they would have been careful to date it correctly.

3°. But the commission contradicts itself. On the 2nd of June, it orders the ambassadors to proceed to the frontiers of Scotland, though the French ministers must have known that they were already preparing for that journey, in virtue of a previous commission, dated May 2. The answer is easy. The first commission did not empower them to treat with the Scots: to remedy this defect, they wrote for a second commission, and desired it might be sent after them.

The other arguments adduced against the authenticity of the treaty are all founded on mere conjectures, and appear to me of no force whatever when opposed to the facts already mentioned.

NOTE (K), Page 319.

By the adoption of the thirty-nine articles the seal was put to the Reformation in England. A new church was built on the ruins of the old; and it will be the object of this note to point out to the reader how far

these churches agreed, how far they disagreed, in their respective creeds.

1°. They both taught that there is but one God ; that in the unity of the Godhead are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost : that the Son took to himself the nature of man ; that he offered himself a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual ; and that his is the only name whereby man must be saved.

2°. They equally admitted the three symbols, usually denominated the apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds.

3°. They equally revered the holy Scriptures as the true word of God. But here they began to differ. 1°. Several books of the Jewish scriptures were pronounced apocryphal by the new, while they were admitted as canonical by the old church. 2°. The former maintained that all doctrines, taught by Christ and his apostles, had been recorded in the Scriptures ; the latter that many things, such as the baptism of infants, the obligation of observing the Sunday instead of the Sabbath, &c., had been taught by Christ or his apostles, and yet had not been recorded in the Scriptures, but were known only by tradition.

4°. Both agreed that " the church hath a right to " decree rites and ceremonies, and hath authority in " controversies of faith ;" but the articles seemed to nullify this authority by restrictions. The church could decide nothing but what is contained in the Scriptures ; could not assemble in general council without the command and will of princes ; and, when so assembled, was liable to err, and had actually erred. The old church allowed no such authority to princes, and maintained that Christ, according to his promises in the Scripture, would so watch over his church assembled in general council, as not to suffer it to fall into any essential error, either in faith or discipline.

5°. Both equally required vocation and mission in their ministers ; and both intrusted the government of the church to bishops, as the highest order in the hierarchy. But the old church, while it admitted no ecclesiastical authority in the prince as prince, acknowledged in the bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, a

primacy of order and jurisdiction throughout the universal church; the new refused to the bishop of Rome any jurisdiction within the realm, and considered the sovereign as supreme, even in ecclesiastical government.

6°. Both equally taught that the justification of the sinner cannot be acquired or deserved by any natural effort, and that it is given gratis on account of the merits of Christ; but in this they differed, or perhaps seemed to differ, that the one inculcated justification by faith only, the other, in addition to faith, required both hope and charity.

7°. That the sacraments are efficacious signs of grace, by which God worketh invisibly in us, was taught by both. but the seven sacraments of the catholics,—viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, holy order, extreme unction, and matrimony, were by the articles reduced to two,—viz. baptism and the eucharist.

8°. The most important points in which they differed regarded the eucharist. The English reformers taught that in the sacrament “the body of Christ is given, “taken, and eaten, only after a heavenly and spiritual “manner:” the catholics, “after a real though spiritual “and sacramental manner:” the former declared that the doctrine of transubstantiation could not be proved from the words of Scripture; the latter, that it necessarily followed from the words of Scripture—the first, that the communion ought to be administered to laymen under both kinds, according to the institution and the command of Christ; the others, that communion under both kinds does not follow from the institution, and is not prescribed by the command of Christ.

9°. By the articles the mass was pronounced a blasphemous forgery, on the ground that there can be no other sacrifice for sin than that which was offered upon the cross; according to the catholics, the mass is a true propitiatory sacrifice, commemorative of that formerly offered on the cross.

10°. The articles condemned, but in general terms, and without any explanation, the doctrines of—1, purgatory; 2, pardons; 3, the veneration and adoration of relics and images; and 4, the invocation of the saints. The catholics taught—1°. that the souls of men who

depart this life, neither so wicked as to deserve the punishment of hell, nor so pure as to be admitted there "where nothing defiled can enter," are immediately after death placed in a state of purgation; 2°. that pardons of the temporal punishment of sin, called indulgences, are useful and to be retained; 3°. that it is lawful to show an inferior respect or veneration to the remains of holy persons, and to the images of Christ and his saints; 4°. that it is also lawful to solicit the departed saints to join their prayers with ours, "to beg for us benefits from God through his Son Jesus Christ, "our only Saviour and Redeemer." *Con. Trid. Sess. xxv.*

NOTE (L), Page 330.

1. By act of parliament the crown had been limited to the three children of Henry VIII., Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, and, failing them, to such persons as the king, by his last will, signed with his own hand, should appoint.

2. After his death, a will, purporting to be his, was produced; and by it the succession was limited, after the heirs of his own children, to the heirs of his second sister Mary, wife of the duke of Suffolk, to the exclusion of the heirs of his eldest sister, Margaret, married first to James king of Scotland, and afterwards to Archibald earl of Angus.

3. Considerable doubt was entertained of the authenticity of the will attributed to Henry. Under Mary it was pronounced spurious by the privy council; by Elizabeth it was never suffered to be mentioned.

4. By hereditary descent, Mary of Scotland was the next claimant, as the representative of her grandmother, Margaret, and after her the countess of Lennox, as the daughter of the same Margaret, by her second husband, the earl of Angus.

5. The protestants dreaded the succession of Mary, on account of her religion. To remove her, it was contended that, by the law of England, no person born of foreign parents, and in a foreign realm, could inherit in England; and therefore that, as she came under this description, being born in Scotland, and the daughter of

king James and Mary of Lorrain, the succession belonged to the next of blood, the countess of Lennox, whose mother was an Englishwoman, and who had been born in England. To this it was victoriously answered, that the law in question was confined to private inheritances, and did not regard the succession to the crown.

6. The partisans of the house of Suffolk maintained that the objection was valid; and that it applied not only to the Scottish queen, but also to the countess of Lennox. They argued that, when the father and mother were of different conditions, the child followed the father; and that, as he was a foreigner, his daughter was a foreigner too: nor did it matter that she was born at Harbottle in England, for the earl and his wife did not dwell here as subjects to the king, but were merely strangers on their passage through the kingdom.

7. Elizabeth herself would give no opinion, nor suffer others to give any opinion, on these pretensions. Sensible of the insecurity of her own claim, she looked with a jealous eye on all who had any pretensions to the succession, and seemed to fear that, if the right were decided in favour of any person, that person might supersede her on the throne.

8. Mary, from whom the house of Suffolk claimed, left two daughters, Frances and Eleanor. Of the three daughters of Frances, one only, by name Catherine, left issue. She was first married to the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards divorced from him. On the 10th of August, 1561, it was discovered that she was pregnant. She declared that she had been married privately to Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford; but Elizabeth, who pretended to believe that "since the death of the lady Jane (her sister) she had been privie to many great practices and purposes," (Haynes, 369,) committed her to the Tower; though Cecil asserts that "he could find nothing in it." A child was born; (1561, Aug. 17, *ut multi putant ex stupro, sed ut ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis nuptiis. Ea res turbavit animos multorum. Nam si sint veræ nuptiæ, puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad spem regni. O nos miseros, qui non possumus scire, sub quo domino victuri sumus.* Jewell to P. Mar.

7 Feb. 1562. Burn. iv. 568.) Hertford was sent for from France; and the queen ordered the archbishop to inquire into the validity of their union. "Nobody appeared privy to the marriage, nor to the love, but 'maids' (Hardwicke Papers, i. 177); and the archbishop pronounced them both guilty of an illicit intercourse, and adjudged them to be punished according to the queen's pleasure. (1562, Feb.) Elizabeth ordered them to be confined in separate parts of the Tower; but, by the connivance of the warders, they met again; a second child was the consequence; and Hertford was condemned in the Star-chamber to imprisonment, and to three fines of 5000*l.* each for three offences, the violation of a maid of royal descent, the breaking of his prison to visit her, and the repetition of the first offence. Catherine continued a prisoner till her death, which happened at sir Owen Hopton's house, whither she had been removed on account of the plague, on 26th January, 1568. Hertford's confinement lasted nine years. Camd. 89. Ellis, ii. 272—290. Nares, ii. 347. There is no proof that the marriage was ever established. In 1606 lord Beauchamp obtained a grant of the earldom and barony, to take effect after the death of the earl: and his son, in the patent restoring him to the dukedom of Somerset, is called heir-male to the first duke. See Mr. Hallam's Const. Hist. i. 397.

Hales, clerk of the hanaper, was the legal adviser of Hertford. In his zeal to serve his client, he committed himself so far as to write a book, in which he attempted to prove the claim of the house of Suffolk to the succession, and that of course the next heir was the lady Catherine. Cecil, from motives of policy or interest, supported, as far as he durst, the same opinion; Bacon was less cautious, and even assisted Hales. The queen sent the latter to the Tower; and, to show her displeasure to Bacon, excluded him from the council, and ordered him to confine himself to the business of the chancery.

9. If the succession were in the house of Suffolk, it undoubtedly belonged to the lady Catherine, as representative of her mother, the eldest daughter of the French queen. In parliament, however, there appeared a party which supported the claim of Margaret, married

to Ferdinando Stanley, son to the earl of Derby, as the representative of the lady Eleanor, her mother, who was second daughter of the French queen. On what ground this party excluded the lady Catherine, I know not.

10. There was another party in parliament which maintained the exclusion of the issue of Margaret, the Scottish queen, for the reasons already alleged; and also the exclusion of the issue of Mary, the French queen, because, as they asserted, she could not be the lawful wife of the duke of Suffolk, he having at the time of his marriage a lawful wife living, of the name of Mortimer (Haynes, 412). Hence they sought the true heir among the descendants of the house of York, and fixed on the earl of Huntingdon, sprung from George duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. His mother was daughter to lord Montague, and granddaughter to the countess of Salisbury, executed by Henry VIII. The very mention of a successor alarmed the jealousy of Elizabeth; and the earl, fearful of becoming the object of her displeasure, wrote to the earl of Leicester, maintaining his own loyalty, and soliciting the protection of that favourite. See the letter in the Hardwicke Papers, i. 187.

NOTE (M), Page 337.

On July 13th an interesting conversation took place between Mary and Randolph respecting her intended marriage with Darnley. The ambassador had hinted at her ingratitude in not following the advice of Elizabeth after so many promises to do so. "Your mistress," she replied, "went about but to abuse me; and so was I "warned out of England, France, and other parts: and, "when I found it so indeed, I thought I would no longer "stay upon her fair words, but, being as free as she is, I "would stand to my own choice: for, if your mistress "would have used me as I trusted she would have "done, she cannot have a daughter of her own that "would have been more obedient to her than I would "have been; and yet I desire to live in that peace and "amity with her that before I did. Let not her be "offended with my marriage, no more than I am with

"hers: and for the rest I will abyde such fortune as
"God may send me." Randolph answered that his
mistress had frequently shown her good will towards the
Scottish queen: that Mary had offered to follow Eliza-
beth's advice, and yet had forfeited the benefit by falling
in love with a man at first sight. This was an offence
which his mistress had a right to make known: she did
not claim any authority over Mary, but gave advice
because it was asked, and the adoption of it had been
promised. "It must now, however," said the queen,
"be with me as it may be; and I pray you tell me
"what would the queen my good sister that I should
"do." He replied, "Send home the lord of Lennox
"and the lord Darnley." "That," said Mary, "may
"not be. Is there no other way but that?" "That,"
he replied, "is the best. But what if your majesty
"would alter your religion?" "What would that do?"
she asked. "Peradventure," said he, "it would some-
"what move her majesty to allow the sooner of your
"marriage." "What would you," she exclaimed,
"that I should make merchandise of my religion, or
"frame myself to your ministers' wills! It cannot be
"so." Randolph then advised her to beware in time,
and not compel Elizabeth to take severe measures in
defence of her own honour. Mary concluded by saying,
"You can never persuade me that I have failed to
"your mistress, but rather she to me, and some incom-
"modity it will be to her to lose my amity, as the loss
"of hers will be to me. Yet I will refuse to do nothing
"that well I may." Rand. to Cecil, July 16th, 1565.
Stevenson, 122—124.

END OF VOL. VII.

